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Annual report of the
Hawaiian Historical Society

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FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society.

HONOLULU, H. I.

1893.

HONOLULU :

PRINTED BY THE HAWAIIAN GAZETTE COMPANY.

1893.

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NOTICE.

All those, not members, to whom a copy of this Annual Report is sent, are herewith invited to co-operate with us as Active Members. And all members of the Society are earnestly urged to help forward the object of this Society by increasing the list of Active Members and by such contributions as they may make themselves, or secure from others, in furtherance of the work of the Society. The conditions of membership are election by vote at any regular meeting, the payment of five dollars, as an initiation fee, and an annual membership fee of one dollar. Members who have not received the Society's publications, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, are requested to notify the Treasurer at once. Extra copies may be obtained on application to the Librarian, Dr. C. T. Rodgers, at the Society's room in the Honolulu Library Building.

Contributions of manuscript copies of any Hawaiian *mele* or *kaao*, are earnestly solicited: also, copies of old newspapers: and any Hawaiian books, or books relating to these Islands, or the islands of the Pacific.

FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society.

HONOLULU, H. I.

1893.

OFFICERS, 1893.

PRESIDENT,	-	-	-	-	HON. C. R. BISHOP.
VICE-PRESIDENT,	-	-	-	-	JOSEPH S. EMERSON, Esq.
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,	-	-	-	-	PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.
RECORDING SECRETARY,	-	-	-	-	REV. C. M. HYDE, D. D.
LIBRARIAN	-	-	-	-	DR. C. T. RODGERS.
TREASURER	-	-	-	-	G. P. CASTLE. Esq.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held in Queen Emma Hall, December 5, 1892. Mr. Joseph S. Emerson, Vice-President, acted as a Chairman, in the absence of Hon. C. R. Bishop, detained by business affairs in San Francisco.

The Chairman in his opening address gave a brief resume of the origin and progress of the Society. Prof. W. D. Alexander read his report as Corresponding Secretary; Rev. R. R. Hoes, his report as Librarian; Mr. T. G. Thrum, his report as Treasurer. These are herewith printed. Rev. S. E. Bishop, for the Committee on Nominations, reported in favor of the reelection of the officers, whose term now expires, excepting the Treasurer, who wishes to be relieved from the duties of that office, and nominating Mr. G. P. Castle for that place. These officers were unanimously elected.

The paper for the evening was then read by Hon. S. B. Dole, on "The Evolution of Hawaiian Land Titles." The Society passed a vote of thanks to the author, and requested a copy for publication.

Mr. T. H. Davies, in anticipation of his speedy return to England, was called upon for his personal testimony as to the value of the work this Society has undertaken to accomplish, and expressed his deep interest in all that concerns the developement of these islands, and told of the eagerness with which all information that could be given about the country and the people was sought by many whom he met in England.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

BY VICE-PRESIDENT J. S. EMERSON.

THE Hawaiian Historical Society, organized on the 11th of January of the present year, meets to-night, not to celebrate its first anniversary, but to hold its first annual meeting. In the absence of the President, it devolves upon me to welcome the members and friends of the society, and to offer a few remarks suitable to the occasion. The object of this society, as expressed in the Constitution, is "the collection, study, and utilization of all material illustrating the Ethnology, Archæology and History of the Hawaiian Islands." We are therefore not committed to any political faith, or ecclesiastical creed, or the advancement of any one of the several nationalities which together form the Hawaiian Kingdom. We now seek, and shall continue to seek, exact historic truth, and shall cordially welcome it from whatever source it may reach us. The field before us is extremely rich. The ethnology and archæology of this country are engaging the earnest study of scholars in other lands, and they rightly claim the patient consideration of our own antiquarian students. The strictly historical period of our country is somewhat more limited than the ethnological and archæological, but it is equally important. The valuable History of the Hawaiian People by our Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander, recently published, is awakening a new interest in this department of study, which is being further stimulated by the effort of our Historical Society, and the moral as well as practical support which it is receiving throughout our country. There are chapters of our national history which will compare favorably with many of those which have been written of other countries, and it is the desire of this Society to gather up the threads of our history which otherwise may be perma-

nently lost, in order that hereafter they may be woven by the future historian, into a lasting and symmetrical whole.

December 29, 1891, a few gentlemen interested in Hawaiian antiquities, met to consider the expediency of forming an organization for the collection, preservation, and utilization of all material available for as complete a record as possible of the origin and progress of the Hawaiian people. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution, which was presented for ratification at a subsequent meeting, January 11, 1892, and then adopted.

To the original 21 members, we have since added 216 active members, making our total active membership 237 ; and adding to this list our 20 corresponding members, we have a grand total membership of 257. Were it not for the stringency of the times the number of our members would be much greater, but even as the list now stands, we have in it ample cause for congratulation, indicating as it does the degree of sympathy and moral support that has been extended to the Society in the accomplishment of its desirable purposes.

The officers of the Society since its organization have been as follows : President, C. R. Bishop ; Vice-President, J. S. Emerson ; Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander ; Recording Secretary, Rev. Dr. C. M. Hyde ; Librarian, Rev. R. R. Hoes, U.S.N., and Treasurer, T. G. Thrum.

The most important event in our history since our organization is the arrangement and agreement which has been made by the Society and the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association. At the first regular meeting of the Society held on the 28th of January, "it was voted that Judge Dole, Chaplain Hoes, U.S.N., and Prof. M. M. Scott be a committee to consider and report some method of incorporation, or affiliation with the Honolulu Library Association, to ensure the holding in perpetuity, for public use, of the material presented to this Society.

After mature deliberation, this committee formulated five propositions to the Trustees of the Honolulu Library. These Trustees, after careful debate, on the motion of Henry Waterhouse,

Esq., unanimously accepted these propositions, and at a meeting of the Historical Society held on the 7th of April, Judge Dole, Chairman of the Special Committee, reported the basis of co-operation agreed upon with the Honolulu Library Association, which was unanimously adopted by the Historical Society. These proposals read as follows :

1. That the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association should grant to the Hawaiian Historical Society the permanent use and control of the front room of the Library building.

2. That the said Association should transfer to the said Society all printed and manuscript matter in its possession relating in whole or in part to Polynesia and the Pacific Ocean in general, and the Hawaiian Islands in particular.

3. That the members of the Hawaiian Library and Reading Room Association may consult the books belonging to the said Historical Society, subject to the same rules that now regulate the use of the reference department of the said Library Association, and such others as may be made in relation thereto by the Hawaiian Historical Society.

4. That the Hawaiian Historical Society shall not call upon the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association as such for any financial aid in building up its Hawaiian and Polynesian Library.

5. That in the possible event of the dissolution of the Hawaiian Historical Society, its whole library shall, *ipso facto*, become the property of the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association.

The Corresponding Secretary will call our attention to interesting letters received from abroad in which our Society is referred to in complimentary terms.

The Treasurer's Report shows a balance in his hands of

Three public meetings have been held during the year, and the papers read have been published in pamphlet form, and distributed among the members. The first was by Prof. W. D. Alexander, on "The Relations between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America in Early Times." The second was by J. S. Emerson, Esq., on "The Lesser Hawaiian gods." The third by Hon. S. B. Dole on "Evolution of Land Titles." Members desiring additional copies of any, or all of these papers, will please apply to the Librarian.

\$347.40. This would be larger, but for the fact that a few of our members have not yet paid their entrance fees and annual dues, and the long list of members elected at our last meeting have not as yet received their bills.

I will only add that had it not been for the calamity referred to in the Librarian's Report, our brief experience as a Society would have been one of continuous prosperity. The damage done to our Library by water, in the event referred to, has never been fully repaired, and we still await the liberality of some as yet unknown benefactor who shall earn for himself the lasting gratitude of the Society by assisting us in our time of greatest need.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY'S REPORT.

BY PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.

IMEDIATELY after the organization of this Society, letters were addressed to a number of gentlemen in other countries, interested in Polynesian history and ethnology, most of whom have since been elected as corresponding members, and copies of this Society's published papers have since been sent to them.

The Polynesian Society, organized in New Zealand, sent a fraternal greeting in cordial terms, concluding: "We shall be happy to exchange publications, and to assist your Society in any manner that we can."

Major Dutton, U.S.A., after thanking the Society for his election as a corresponding member, says: "My remembrances of the Hawaiian Islands are a source of the greatest pleasure to me, and my interest in all that concerns them grows deeper with the lapse of time. It is well that your Society has been formed, for there is no history better worth preserving. It is not only a romance, but an object lesson of the highest utility to all who may have been so fortunate as to have studied it, whether they be statesmen, economists, or antiquarians. Every

scrap of Hawaiian history that can be discovered and verified, or rescued from oblivion, is of permanent value to the world." Later, Major Dutton submits a list of important topics for investigation by the Society.

In one of several letters received from Mr. Percy Smith, Surveyor-General of New Zealand, and founder of the Polynesian Society, he says: "I hope some of the Hawaiian members are going to contribute to the Journal, for I am very anxious to prevent its becoming too local, for which reason I am holding back a long paper of my own on New Zealand matters. If you look at the list of our members, it will be seen that one-seventh of them are from your parts, and yet we have no papers from any of them." Mr. Smith is an enthusiastic student of Polynesian ethnology, and has discovered considerable new evidence connecting the Maories with the natives of Raiatea and Hawaii nei.

Corresponding members in the United States have sent some gratifying expressions of interests in the objects of the Society. Mr. Otis Mason, of the Smithsonian Institute, says: "Please tell me how your Historical Society is off in the matter of Smithsonian publications. Every word I can learn about Hawaii is most grateful." Mr. J. F. Hunnewell, of Boston, in accepting the position of corresponding member, says: "As some of my old ties with the Islands part, it is pleasant to me to find a new association like this one forming."

Mention should also be made of cordial letters from Messrs. Austin, Bond and Gilman of Boston, Mr. Gower of New Haven, and Gen. Armstrong of the Hampton Institute. Mr. Theo. H. Davies, whose presence was not expected at this meeting when the report was prepared, wrote from England: "Everything that helps to connect me with the country and the friends where most of my life has been passed is a cause of gratification to me."

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

BY REV. R. R. HOES.

THE Hawaiian Historical Society, although less than one year old, has already a library of which it may justly feel proud. According to Prof. Alexander, it has the largest single collection in the world of books and pamphlets relating to this country. A large number of books have been transferred to our library by the provisions of the arrangement unanimously agreed upon by our Society and the Honolulu Library, which has been read this evening by the presiding officer. Besides these, we have purchased for the low sum of \$365, two large collections of Hawaiian books from Vernon L. Tenney, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y. Several smaller collections made by various persons in this country have been given to us, and other highly important donations have constantly been enriching our shelves. We are under special obligations, among others, to the following persons, for their generous gifts:

Prof. W. D. Alexander, Rev. E. G. Beckwith, D. D., Rev. H. Bingham, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Rev. S. E. Bishop, Mrs. S. E. Bishop, Hon. J. E. Bush, Mrs. H. A. P. Carter, A. J. Cartwright, Esq., Geo. P. Castle, Henry N. Castle, James B. Castle, Hon. S. N. Castle, Mrs. S. N. Castle, Hon. W. R. Castle, Miss M. A. Chamberlain, Mrs. Harriet Coleman, Francis W. Damon, Hon. David Dayton, Hon. S. B. Dole, J. S. Emerson, Dr. N. B. Emerson, Rev. O. P. Emerson, Mrs. A. A. Haalelea, Chaplain R. R. Hoes, Rev. C. M. Hyde, D. D., Daniel Logan, Dr. A. B. Lyons, C. J. Lyons, Hon. A. Marques, George McDougall, Rev. H. W. Peck, Henry F. Poor, Hon. F. S. Pratt, Mrs. Riemenschneider, Dr. C. T. Rodgers, Hon. H. W. Severance, Rev. A. V. Soares, T. S. Southwick, T. G. Thrum, Dr. C. H. Wetmore, Hon. J. N. S. Williams, Right Rev. Alfred Willis, Med. Ins'r G. W. Woods, U. S. N., Frederick Wundenberg.

Our library is divided into two sections. The first embraces the books and pamphlets relating in whole or in part to the

Hawaiian Kingdom, and the second those that relate to the islands and countries of the Pacific Ocean.

Our Hawaiian section contains 679 books, 1058 pamphlets, 117 bound volumes of newspapers, and 6 Hawaiian atlases, making a total of 1860.

Our Pacific Ocean section contains 327 books and 60 pamphlets, making a total of 387.

Combining the two sections, our library contains 2247 books and pamphlets.

The limits of this report will not permit me to describe in detail the books and pamphlets in this collection. Many of them are very rare and all are of great value. We would refer, however, with pride, to our collection of papers and periodicals printed in Honolulu. Of these we have either full or partial files of the following :

ENGLISH.

The Hawaiian Spectator, The Maile Quarterly, Punahou Reporter, Punahou Journal, Punahou Mirror, The Hawaiian Monthly, The Islander, Punch Bowl, The Hawaiian, Sandwich Islands' Monthly Magazine, The Anglican Church Chronicle, The Polynesian, Hawaiian Gazette, Saturday Press, Daily Honolulu Press, The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Sandwich Islands News, Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce, Bennett's Own, The Weekly Argus, Daily Hawaiian Herald, Honolulu Times, The Hawaiian Times, The Friend, The Convention, The Liberal, Y. M. C. A. Review, The National Herald, The Voice of the Nation, The Honolulu Daily Times, Handicraft, The Monitor, The Owl, Paradise of the Pacific, Hawaiian Cascade and Miscellany, Daily Bulletin, The Spirit of the Library Fair, The Daily Hawaiian, The Planters' Monthly, St. Andrew's Magazine, The Honolulu Magazine, Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger, The Appeal.

HAWAIIAN.

Ke Kumu Kamalii, Ka Nonanona, Ka Elele, Ke Kumu Hawaii, Ka Lama Hawaii, Nu Hou, Ka Nu Hou Hawaii, Ka Nupapa Kuokoa, Hawaii Holomua, Ka Leo o ka Lahui, Ko Hawaii

Pae Aina, Ka Alaula, Ka Hae Hawaii, Ka Lau Oliva, Ka Lahui Hawaii, Ke Au Okoa, Ke Karistiano, Ka Nupepa Elele, Ka Hoku o ke Kai, Ka Hoku Loa, He Mau Hana, Haimanava, Hoiliili Havaii, Na Helu Kalavina, No Ta Hoku Loa Kalavina, He Mau Manao, O ka Hae Karistiano, O ka Hae Katolika; the last eight being publications of the Catholic Church.

PORTUGUESE PAPERS.

A Sentinella, O Luso Hawaiiano, Aurora Hawaiiana, A. Uniao.

The Society also has in its possession a fine collection of original manuscripts, whose value cannot easily be estimated. A few of the most interesting are as follows:

Original manuscripts, of Prof. W. D. Alexander's "Brief History of the Hawaiian People."

Twenty-one original plans and drawing of the Kawaiahao Church, made by the Rev. Hiram Bingham, Sr.

"Journal of the Voyages made to the United States, England and France, kept by (Prince) Alexander Liholiho," afterwards Kamehameha IV., extending from September 18, 1849, through June 29, 1850.

The original manuscript records of the "Maternal Association of the Sandwich Islands Mission," extending from April 2, 1843, through February 28, 1849.

Record of the Circuit Court held at Lahaina, kept by Judge John Richardson in 1848, 1849 and 1850.

172 letters and other manuscripts formerly belonging to Queen Emma, including, among others, letters to her from Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, Dr. Judd, the Hon. R. C. Wyllie, the Rev. John Keble, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Devon, Lady Devon, A. Beresford Hope, Gov. A. H. Bullock of Massachusetts, Secretary of State William H. Seward, P. T. Barnum, Admiral Thatcher, U. S. N., etc., etc.

Private account and memorandum book of John Young, Sr.

Exercise Books of Queen Emma while attending Honolulu Seminary.

An early Hawaiian vocabulary, bound in kapa.

"A Short Elementary Grammar of the Owhihe Language, to which is added a large Vocabulary in English and Owhihe." This is the first grammar of the Hawaiian language ever written. It was prepared at the Mission School in Cornwall, Conn.; on the last page is "a projection of a Lunar Eclipse," which was to "happen" in September, 1820, and which was calculated before the arrival of the first missionaries in March, 1820. It is signed by H. Daggett, who was Principal of the above mentioned school.

Curious letter of advice, signed "Cassandra," and addressed to Kamehameha IV., January 16, 1855, about a month after his accession to the throne, and five days after taking his oath to maintain the constitution.

Regulations respecting taxes in 1827.

Folio manuscript, 226 pages in length, prepared by the venerable S. N. Castle over half a century ago, relating to the persecutions of the Catholics, and the Diplomatic complications and difficulties with France.

"Extract from Journal of Captain Charles Clarke, R.N., from 14th February, 1779, on which date he succeeded Captain Cook in command of H. M. S. Restoration."

"Extract from a Pocket Diary kept by one of the officers of H. M. S. Restoration, 1779, commanded by Captain Cook.

Nine sheets of religious music, prepared by the Rev. Hiram Bingham, Sr., in the early years of the mission.

Manuscript book of sacred hymns, formerly belonging to the wife of the Rev. Hiram Bingham, Sr.

Original manuscript of the Hawaiian Hymn Book prepared by the Rev. Mr. Lyons, and published in Honolulu in 1838.

Report of the Commission, appointed respectively on the part of the King, the Chiefs and the people in June, 1851, "to revise the constitution of the land." It is dated November 22, 1851.

Among the donations other than books and pamphlets that

came to us from our friend and benefactor, the late A. J. Cartwright, Esq., was a large collection of old Honolulu handbills, broadsides, and programmes. Some of the latter were printed upon silk and satin for the use of the Sovereign and Royal Family.

It is painful to allude to the damage done by the furious storm of last spring. The water that broke through the roof injured our collections to the extent of hundreds of dollars, and the injury done us has been only partially repaired. We need to-day a large sum of money to restore ruined buildings, to clean damaged books, and to bind pamphlets, to say nothing of the amount required to purchase other literary and historic material, and to publish in pamphlet form the valuable papers that are periodically read before our Society. The financial state of the country is certainly not in our favor, but we may look forward in confidence, if we may rely upon the moral and material co-operation of our membership and the other friends of this organization. The members of this organization should not be satisfied with the growth and development of our Library, until it contains every book and pamphlet printed here and elsewhere that relates even remotely to the Hawaiian Islands. Nothing ever printed in this country, even an ephemeral handbill, is without ultimate historic interest, and there is destroyed every month, in this community, materials that would be of permanent interest and value on the shelves of our library.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

BY T. G. THURM, ESQ.

Receipts.—Membership Fees, as per lists.....		\$942 00
Expenditures—Sundry Bills, 1—27,.....	\$594 60	
Deposit in P. O. Bank.....	300 00	
Cash on hand.....	47 40	\$942 00

The bills paid may be classified as follows:

Expenses of meetings.....	\$ 10 15
Collection and distribution	21 60
Library Expenses	18 95
Stationery	16 20
Purchase of books.....	384 00
Freight and cartage.....	33 55
Printing.....	110 15

Total..... \$ 594 60

Amount due the Society on fees not yet collected from
members recently elected..... \$ 474 00

There are no outstanding liabilities.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED JANUARY 11, 1892.

ART. 1. This Society shall be called the Hawaiian Historical Society.

ART. 2. This Society shall have for its object the collection, study and utilization of all material illustrating the Ethnology, Archaeology and History of the Hawaiian Islands.

ART. 3. The members of this Society shall consist of two classes: 1st. Active members, who shall be elected by a majority vote at any regular meeting, pay an initiation fee of five dollars and an annual membership fee of one dollar, and participate by voice and vote in the management of its affairs. 2d. Corresponding members, interested in the objects of the Society, and elected by special vote of the Society for services rendered or aid invited.

ART. 4. The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Librarian, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer, who shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and together constitute the Board of Managers.

ART. 5. The annual meeting of this Society shall be held in Honolulu, at such place as the Board may appoint, on Recognition Day (November 28th), at which time the officers shall be chosen, and annual reports presented by the Librarian, Secretaries and Treasurer.

ART. 6. Regular meetings of this Society shall be held in the months of January, March and May, on the last Thursday evenings in said months. Other meetings shall be appointed from time to time, as occasion may require, by the Board of Managers, who shall arrange the order of exercises for each meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

ART. 7. This Constitution may be amended by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting, written notice thereof having been given at a previous meeting.

BY-LAWS.

1. The President shall be the Trustee to hold the property of the Society for its use, and the property of the Society now held, and of all future acquisitions, is vested in him, and his successors in office.

2. The Corresponding Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian shall constitute a Standing Committee of the Board of Managers, to be known as "The Library Committee," who shall be authorized to purchase books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other historical material; to attend to all details relating to the management of the Library, including the framing of rules and regulations for its use; and, also, to have general charge of the Library Room of the Society and its contents, and provide for all necessary arrangements connected there with; provided that no single expenditure be made by the Committee exceeding the sum of one hundred dollars, without permission of the Board of Managers.

3. The papers read before this Society shall be requested and accepted on the condition that these papers shall be considered the property of the persons who prepare or present them, not to be published by the Society nor placed upon its files, without a written agreement to that effect.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

APRIL 7, 1892.

Hon. J. W. Austin, Boston, Mass.
 E. P. Bond, Esq., Boston, Mass.
 J. F. Hunnewell, Esq., Boston, Mass.
 Capt. C. E. Dutton, Washington, D. C.
 Major J. W. Powell, Washington, D. C.
 Otis F. Mason, Esq., Washington, D. C.
 M. M. Grover, Esq., New Haven, Conn.
 Rev. S. L. Whitmee, Samoa.
 T. H. Davies, Esq., Southport, England.
 F. D. Fenton, Esq., New Zealand.
 S. Percy Smith, New Zealand.
 K. G. Seth-Smith, New Zealand.
 Ed. Tregear, New Zealand.
 Rear-Admiral Brown, U.S.N.
 Medical Inspector Woods, U.S.N.
 Chief Engineer Inch, U.S.N.
 Gen. S. C. Armstrong, Hampton, Va.
 Hon. W. N. Armstrong, 28 Broadway, New York.

NOVEMBER 19, 1892.

Rev. John T. Gulick, Osaka, Japan.

DECEMBER, 5, 1892.

Appleton Sturges, Esq., New York.

MARCH 6, 1893.

Gen. James Grant Wilson, New York.
 Senator W. E. Chandler, New York.
 Senator Morgan, New York.
 V. L. Tenney, Esq., Brooklyn, New York.

ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 31st. 1892.

A bles, L. C.	A chi, W. C.	A lexander, W. D.
A llen, W. F.	A llen, S. C.	A ldrich, W. H.
A ndrews, Dr. G. P.	A ndrews Samuel	A nderson, Dr. R. W.
A ngus, J. M.	A tkinson, A. T.	A uld, William.
B aker, R. H.	B arnett, Jos.	B aldwin, H. P.
B eckwith, Rev. E. G.	B eckley, Geo. C.	B erger, H.
B erger, C. O.	B ertleman, H. F.	B ishop, Hon. C. R.
B ishop, Rev. S. E.	B olte, C.	B oyd, Jas. H.
B oehme, T. N.	B rown, Cecil.	B rown, C. A.
B rown, Godfrey.	B rown, Malcolm	B rown, Frank.
B rown, J. F.	B ush, J. E.	
C amara, J. M. Jr.	C arter, J. O.	C arter, C. L.
C arter, H. C.	C artwright, A. J.	C artwright, Bruce.
C astle, S. N.	C astle, W. R.	C astle, G. P.
C astle, H. N.	C assidy, Jno.	C leghorn, Hon. A. J.
C ooke, C. M.	C ooke, A. F.	C olburn, M. R.
C ongdon, Henry.	C ornwell, W. H.	C reighton, Charles
C rowley, D. M.	C ummins, J. A.	C ummins, W. H.
D amon, S. M.	D amon, F. W.	D avis, Henry.
D ayton, D.	D ay, Dr. F. R.	D egreaves, Capt. J.
D esha, G. L.	D everill, W. E. H.	D illingham, B. F.
D illingham, Geo.	D ias, P. A.	D imond, W. W.
D ole, Hon. S. B.	D owsett, J. I. Sr.	D owsett, Jno. M.
D wight, C. B.		
E hlens, P. F. A.	E merson, J. S.	E merson, Dr. N.
E merson, Rev. O. P.	E mmeluth, Jno.	E na, Hon. John
E step, E. W.		
F ernandez, A.	F isher, J. H.	F oster, Wm.
F oster, W. E.	F ouesnel, Rev. L.	F rear, W. F.
F reeth, G. D.		

Giffard, W. M.	Gilman, Hon. G. D.	Godfrey Frank
Grossman, Dr. M. E.		
Hackfeld, J. F.	Hall, W. W.	Hastings, F. P.
Hedeman, C.	Hendry, E. R.	Herrick, C. F.
Hill, W.	Hind, Hon. R. R.	Hitchcock, E. G.
Ho Fon	Hobron, T. W.	Hoes, Rev. R. R.
Hopper, J. A.	Hopkins, C. L.	Hosmer, Pres. F. A.
Hustace, C. Sr.	Hyde, Rev. C. M.	
Iaukea, Hon. C. P.	Irwin, W. G.	
Jones, J. W.	Jones, P. C.	Johnson, Enoch
Judd, Hon. A. F.		
Kaaukai, S. M.	Kahookano, J. K.	Kalaniana'ole, J. K.
Kama'uoha, G. P.	Kane, S. K.	Kanakanui, S. M.
Kanoa, P. P.	Kaulukou, J. L.	Kauhane, Rev. J.
Kawainui, J. U.	Kawanānakoā, David	Kekumano, S. L.
King, W. C.	Koahou, K. M.	Kynnersly, C. S.
Lewers, Robert	Lilikalani, E. K.	Lindsay, Thos.
Logan, D.	Love, Jas. H.	Lowrey, F. J.
Lucas, George	Lucas, T. R.	Lucas, Albert
Lucas, W. S.	Lundy, Dr. E. A.	Lyle, Jas.
Lyons, C. J.	Lyons, Dr. A. R.	
Mackintosh, Rev. A.	Macfarlane, H. C.	Macfarlane, G. W.
Mehrten, J. A.	Magoon, J. A.	Marsden, Jos.
May, Tom	Mellis, A. M.	Miner, Dr. F. L.
Monsarrat, J. M.	Monsarrat, M. D.	Monsarrat, W. T.
Mouritz, Dr. A.	McCandless, J. A.	McCarthy, C. J.
McChesney, J. M.	McGrew, Dr. J. S.	McGurn, Albert
McIntyre, H. E.	McKibbin, Dr. D.	McLennan, Dr. D.
McWayne, Dr. A.		
Nathaniel, T. K.	Nawahi, Jos.	Newman, E. R.
Nichols, Dr. E. A.	Nolte, H. J.	Nott, Jas. R.
Okabe, Rev. J.		
Parke, W. C.	Parker, Hon. Samuel	Parmalee, H. A.
Paris, J. D.	Pain, W. H.	Peacock, W. C.

Pereira, M. S.	Peterson, A. P.	Phillips, John
Poepoe, J. M.	Poor, H. F.	Porter, T. C.
Pratt, F. S.		
Reynolds, W. F.	Richardson, A. W.	Ripley, C. B.
Robertson, J. W.	Robinson, H. P.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.
Ropert, Rt Rev. F. G.	Rosa, A.	Roth, S.
Rowell, W. E.	Rowat, Dr. A. R.	
Savidge, S	Schaefer, F. A.	Schmidt, H. W.
Simerson, A. C.	Severance, H. W.	Smith, G. W.
Smith, Henry	Smith, W. O.	Smith, W. Jas.
Smithies, George E.	Sorenson, Thos.	Spencer, J. G.
Stacker, J. T.	Stevens, Hon. J. L.	Stiles, E. R.
Swanzy, F. M.		
Testa, F. J.	Thrum, T. G.	Thurston, Hon. L. A.
Tracy, J. M.	Tregloan, H. S.	Tripp, A. N.
Trouseau, Dr. G.		
Vivas, J. M.	Von Holt, H. M.	
Walker, Hon. J. S.	Walker, T. R.	Walbridge, R. D.
Waterhouse, J. T. Sr.	Waterhouse, H.	Waipuilani, J. H.
Weedon, W. C.	West, G.	Whiting, W. A.
White, J. C.	Whitney, J. M.	Whitney, J. M.
Wichman, H. F.	Widemann, H. A.	Widemann, C. A.
Wilcox, Chas.	Wilcox, Hon. G. N.	Wilcox, A. S.
Wilcox, W. L.	Wilker, Hon. W. C.	Willis, Rt. Rev. A.
Williams, J. N. S.	Williams, W. E.	Wodehouse, E. H.
Wood, Cr. B.	Wright, W. H.	Wundenberg, F.

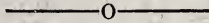




THIRD
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HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HONOLULU, H. I.

1895.



HONOLULU:

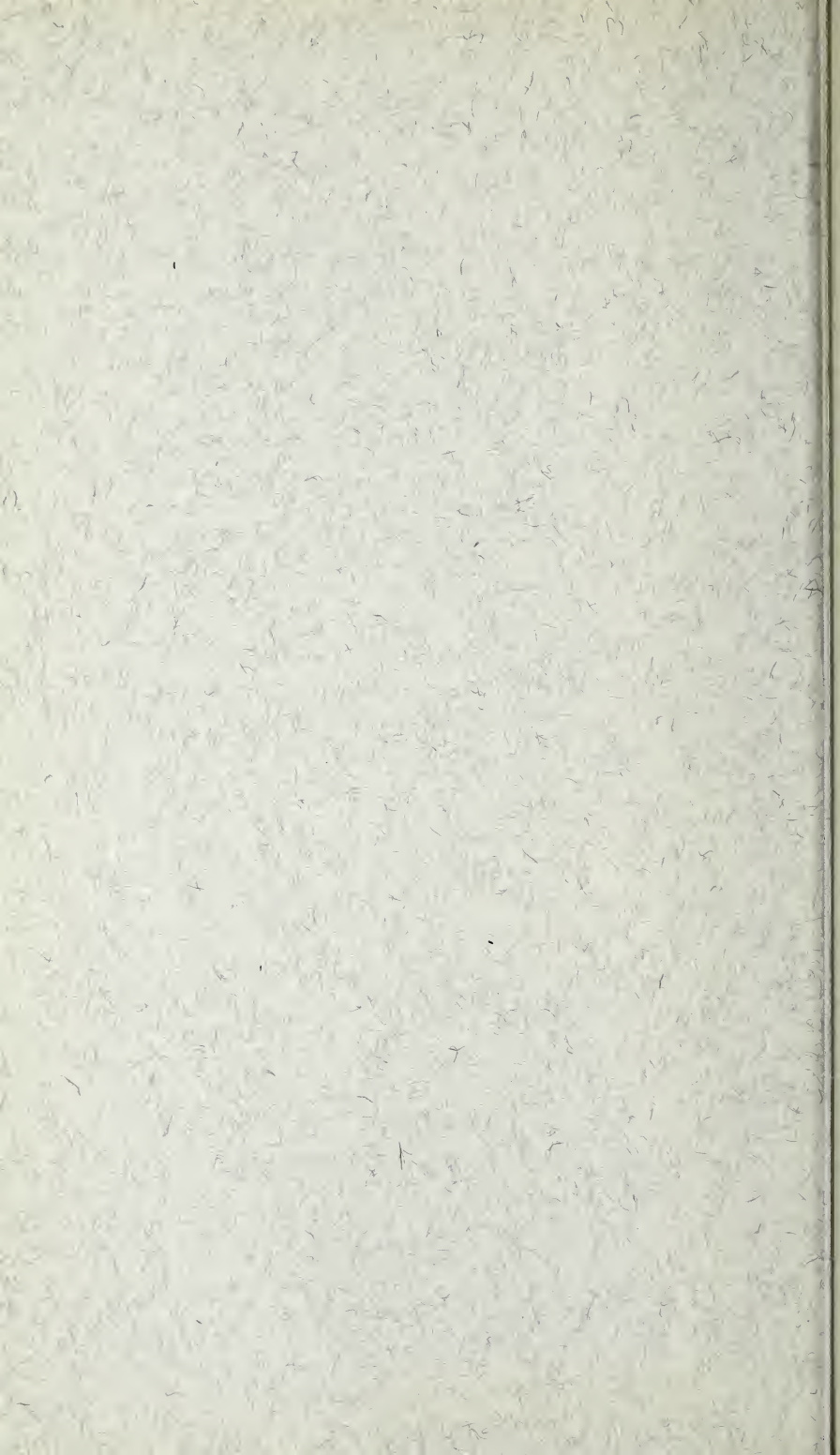
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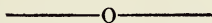
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1978

OFFICERS, 1895.

PRESIDENT	W. R. CASTLE
VICE-PRESIDENT	S. B. DOLE
“ “	W. F. ALLEN
“ “	J. S. EMERSON
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY	W. D. ALEXANDER
RECORDING SECRETARY	C. M. HYDE
TREASURER	G. P. CASTLE
LIBRARIAN	MARY F. BURBANK

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ANNUAL MEETING.

The third annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall November 30, 1894. The inclement weather prevented a large attendance. In the absence of the President, Col. W. F. Allen was chosen chairman.

The Treasurer, G. P. Castle, Esq., read his report, showing a balance in the treasury of \$258.48. The librarian, Dr. C. T. Rodgers, reported what had been done during the first five months of the year, and on account of other duties tendered his resignation, which the Society voted to accept with thanks for the work accomplished. The Corresponding Secretary, W. D. Alexander, then read his report, which was ordered to be printed.

The election of officers resulted in the choice of W. R. Castle, President ; Hon. S. B. Dole, Col. W. F. Allen and Mr. J. S. Emerson, Vice-Presidents ; Prof. W. D. Alexander, Corresponding Secretary ; Rev. C. M. Hyde, D. D., Recording Secretary ; Miss M. F. Burbank, Librarian, and Dr. N. B. Emerson, Assistant Librarian. These persons constituted the Board of Managers for the ensuing year, and were authorized to provide such additional shelving and to employ such additional service as might make most efficient and available for general use the Society's collection of books, pamphlets and manuscripts.

Dr. Emerson then read the paper of the evening on "Personal Reminiscences of Kamehameha V.," written by Rufus A. Lyman, Esq., of Puna, Hawaii, who was long and intimately connected with the last of the Kamehamehas. The Society passed a vote of thanks to the author, and voted to have the paper published.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOV. 23, 1894.

I must crave the indulgence of the Society for the meagerness of this report, which is partly owing to my absence from this country during the first part of the year which commenced with the 28th of November, 1893. The ancient Polynesian year also began about the 20th of November, when the Makalii stars, the Pleiades, rise immediately after sunset.

The Astor Library, the John Hopkins University and other institutions, have applied for sets of our published papers. Manley Hopkins, Esq., Hawaiian Consul in London, has written, cordially thanking the Society for his election as a corresponding member.

S. Percy Smith, Esq., Surveyor-General of New Zealand, and founder of the Polynesian Society, is one of our most valued correspondents. In a letter of the 13th of last June, he writes as follows: "It will be doing the world a great service if you can get the C. R. Bishop collection of Hawaiian MSS. published. You have no work for Hawaiians yet, like Sir George Grey's "*Nga Moteatea*, etc., which you often see quoted in our journal. It is a collection of over 500 songs, incantations, witchcraft and other matters, published in 1850, and is invaluable. It has, however, been translated only in fragments. Touching this subject I have lately had several visits from an old Maori, who has dictated to me 103 songs, prayers, etc., none of which have yet been published; and another old Maori has written out for the Society 87 of their songs, incantations, etc. Alas! it is a very difficult task to translate them." In this respect our New Zealand friends have left us very far behind.

In common with scientific men of other countries, he took great interest in the remarkable discoveries on Necker Island, and urges us to make a more complete exploration of it.

S. Percy Smith, Esq., as well as Miss Teuira Henry of our own Society, have published valuable contributions, showing the extent of

the geographical knowledge both of the ancient Tahitians and of the Maoris. For instance, an ancient Tahitian chant, written down from dictation in 1817, speaks of Hawaii as follows: "There is *Aihi*, land of the great fish-hook, land where the raging fire ever kindles, land drawn up through the undulation of the towering waves from the foundation. Beyond is Oahu." *Vaihi* or *Aihi* is the ancient Tahitian name of these Islands.

Mr. S. Percy Smith has found references in ancient Maori poems to the sojourn of their race in Fiji or "Whiti." On this subject he adds, "The same chants say that *Waihi* and *Rehia* were places beyond Hawaiki (*Raiatea*). They also mention *Maunganui* and *Maungaroa*, but there is no clear indication where these places were." In another *Raiatean* chant, communicated by Miss Henry, among other names of distant islands, occurs "*Te Aotearoa o te Maori*," which undoubtedly means New Zealand, and has greatly delighted our learned correspondent. He explains that the word "*Aotearoa*," the Maori name for the North Island, refers to the long, white cliffs which border its shores, "*tea*" meaning white, and "*roa*" long.

Another valued correspondent is Judge Swan, Hawaiian Consul at Port Townsend. During the latter part of the reign of Kamehameha I. the Windship brothers, who were fur and sandalwood traders, frequently visited these Islands. In 1810 Captain Nathan Windship brought Kaumualii, King of Kauai, to Honolulu to treat with Kamehameha for the cession of his islands. During the war of 1812-15, it is said that his ship, the "*Albatross*," was blockaded at these Islands, and in 1816 she was purchased by Kamehameha from Capt. John Ebbets. As Judge Swan is the highest living authority on the history of the North-west Coast, I applied to him for further information in regard to the log-book of the "*Albatross*" (which is referred to by Mr. H. H. Bancroft in his *History of the Pacific States*), and received from him a very interesting statement, which the Society may see fit to publish.

Mr. M. M. Gower, of New Haven, Conn., besides thanking the Society for his election as corresponding member, has sent us a copy of a paper which he has read before the New Haven Historical Society, the same being a detailed journal of his voyage around Cape Horn to San Francisco and Honolulu in 1858, and

his visit to the great eruption from Mauna Loa in 1859. Selections from it will probably be read before our Society at some future meeting.

It may be in place to mention here that I have received from a bookseller in Paris an autograph letter of Jean B. Rives, written in 1826, which in connection with Capt. Duhaut-Cilly's narrative of the voyage of the ship "Le Heros," throws new light on the nature of the joint stock company of which he was the "promoter."

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Recording Secretary.

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT,

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

For the year ending November 28th, 1893, I have to report as follows :

RECEIPTS.

Cash in hand from last year.....		\$ 47 40
Membership dues and Initiation fees (190) members. .	\$498 00	
Donation from T. H. Davies.....	100 00	
	<hr/>	598 00
		<hr/> \$ 645 40

DISBURSEMENTS.

Collection and Distribution.....	\$ 18 50	
Librarian (7-2, 5 months) at \$25 00.....	185 00	
Janitor (12 months) at \$4 00.....	48 00	
Stationery.....	9 25	
Purchase of Books and Papers.....	20 50	
Express hire and cartage of books.....	3 75	
Binding.....	109 00	
Printing.....	197 75	
Postage.....	14 50	
Interest acct.....	2 00	
	<hr/>	608 25
Cash in hand.....		\$ 37 15
Add funds in bank.....		311 25
		<hr/>
Total <i>Resources</i> this date.....		\$ 348 40

LIABILITIES.

Amount due Librarian for one month's services (Nov.)	\$25 00	
Amount due Janitor for one month's services (Nov.)..	4 00	
	<hr/>	29 00
Excess of Resources over Liabilities.....		<hr/> \$ 319 40

For the year ending November 28th, 1894, I have to report as follows :

RESOURCES FROM LAST YEAR.

Cash in hand from last year.....	\$ 37 15	
Funds in bank from last year.....	311 25	
		<hr/>
		\$ 348 40

RECEIPTS DURING THE YEAR.

Membership dues and Initiations.....	\$310 00	
Sale of Books, Pamphlets, etc.....	19 19	
Net proceeds from Mrs. Gans' Lecture	18 00	
		<hr/>
		347 19
		<hr/>
		\$ 695 59

DISBURSEMENTS.

Collection and Distribution.....	\$ 17 60	
Librarian six months.....	150 00	
Janitor for Nov., 1893.....	4 00	
Janitor for 12 months, Nov. 1893 to Nov. 1894.....	48 00	
Stationery	19 90	
Purchase of Books, Papers, etc.....	22 35	
Printing 1000 pamphlets No. 5	\$56 00	
Printing 1000 pamphlets No. 6	50 00	
Printing and advertising, miscellaneous.....	3 75	109 75
Extra help in copying titles, etc.....	53 00	
Rent of Y. M. C. A. Hall one time.....	2 50	
Postage.....	13 00	
		<hr/>
		440 10
		<hr/>
Present available funds		\$ 255 49

Respectfully submitted,

G. P. CASTLE, *Treasurer.*

ESTIMATES FOR 1895.

INCOME.

Cash on hand	\$ 255 49
Membership dues	200 00
	<hr/>
	\$ 455 49

EXPENSES.

Printing.....	\$ 100 00	
Collections.....	20 00	
<i>Library Expenses—</i>		
Librarian, }		
Janitor, }	300 00	
Extra help, }		
Stationery.....	20 00	
Postage	13 00	
		<hr/>
		453 00
		<hr/>
Balance.....		\$ 2 49

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN.

To the Board of Officers of the Hawaiian Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN :

The year last past has not been a particularly eventful one in the history of our Society. Our collection of material has gradually grown without the addition of any considerable accessions at any one time, or from any one source. The cataloguing of pamphlets and other detail work of the kind has been carried on from time to time as my other engagements have allowed.

During the earlier part of the year my attendance at the Society's room was pretty constant, and considerable work was accomplished. Since that time the pressure of other engagements whose demands were imperative, together with somewhat impaired health, have prevented me from giving the matter such personal attention as I desired, and as the amount of work to be done really requires. Realizing the deficiencies in the service rendered, I have drawn no pay for the last seven months. Seeing no immediate prospect of being able to give the affairs of the Society the time and attention originally contemplated, I think it best to tender my resignation, which I accordingly hereby do, the same to take effect as soon as a successor can be elected and put in charge.

Since the last annual meeting a catalogue case, constructed on the same principle as the one in use by the Library Association, but intended for larger cards, has been procured and is now in use.

The use of larger cards allows the titles of books to be given much more fully than is usual in catalogues of this kind. We have now a very full and detailed card catalogue of over eight hundred bound volumes. These comprise most of the bound books in good order outside of the bound files of newspapers, none of which have been catalogued. Quite a number of newspaper files, as well as others of the larger uncatalogued books, require to be rebound, as is also the case with a few of the books already catalogued.

A set of very convenient and substantial cases for pamphlets and the like has been ordered, and should come to hand before this time. These cases are in three sizes, and are used somewhat as drawers. The papers which have been read before the Society during the year have been printed, and all have been forwarded to members, except the last one, copies of which are now enclosed and directed ready to be mailed.

Repairs to the building have necessitated the removal and replacement of our entire collection. To twice handle such a mass of matter without reducing it to a state of chaos, is a work requiring considerable planning as well as actual labor, in which matter we are largely indebted to Miss Burbank, the Librarian of the Library Association.

The collection now belonging to the Society is a very valuable one, and one which it would be difficult to replace, even by the expenditure of a large sum of money. Of course there are original documents and manuscripts relating to Hawaiian affairs which could not be replaced at any price.

As the Society is already cramped for room to properly assort and arrange the matter now on hand, it is recommended that the blank space on the Waikiki side of the room between the door and the present shelving, be also shelved. The additional accommodation is really needed, and the cost would not be great.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

CHARLES T. RODGERS,

Honolulu, November 28th, 1894.

Librarian.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF KAMEHAMEHA V.

As some of those present may not be familiar with the history of Kamehameha V., whose characteristics will form the subject of the next paper, a brief introductory statement of some of the leading facts in his career may be in place.

He was born December 11, 1830, in Honolulu, and christened Lot Kapuaiwa Kamehameha. His mother, Kinau, was the daughter of Kamehameha I. by Kalakua, a sister of Kaahumanu. She was Kuhina Nui or Premier from the date of Kaahumanu's death, June 5th, 1832, until her own death April 4th, 1839, and in this position showed more than ordinary discretion and firmness. His father, Kekuanaoa, a chief of secondary rank, but of great force of character and executive ability, acted for many years as governor of Oahu and police magistrate of Honolulu.

Kamehameha was educated with the other young chiefs in the Royal School under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke from 1839 till 1849. In 1849 he and his younger brother, Alexander Liholiho, accompanied Dr. Judd on an embassy to France and England, and spent a year abroad, visiting the United States also. The manuscript journal of that embassy is one of the treasures in the files of this Society. When from ill health John Young resigned the position of Minister of the Interior in June, 1857, Prince Kamehameha was appointed in his place and retained the office during the remainder of this reign. Prince Kamehameha inherited a good deal of his grandfather's strength of will and practical shrewdness, and showed considerable administrative ability in his management of the Interior Department.

In the year 1862 he made a voyage to Victoria, and travelled in California, where he was the guest of Governor Downey. He was a conservative in his political views, and had opposed some of the changes which were made during his uncle Kamehameha III.'s reign, believing them to be too sudden and too sweeping.

Upon his brother's death, November 30, 1863, he was immediately proclaimed King under the title of Kamehameha V.

The circumstances under which he abrogated the Constitution of 1852, are perhaps sufficiently explained in the paper which is about to be read. After a prosperous reign of nine years he suddenly died December 11, 1872, and with him ended the line of Kamehamehas.

The lapse of time has softened the asperity of the party contests of that day, and has thrown additional light on the characters and motives of those who took part in them.

Many who opposed Kamehameha V.'s policy at the time, have since learned to judge him more charitably, and to admit that he understood his own people, and was a sincere patriot according to his lights. When in 1865 a bill was brought before the Legislature to repeal the law making it a pénal offense to sell or give intoxicating liquor to natives, and was strongly supported by Hons. R. C. Wyllie and David Kalakaua, contrary to their expectations, Kamehameha said, "I will never sign the death warrant of my people," and the bill was defeated on its second reading.

None will deny that he possessed certain manly and honorable traits of character. No one ever accused him of lack of courage or of dishonesty or duplicity. It was his policy to place the ablest men that could be procured at the head of affairs, and to give them a steady support, which insured a stable and consistent administration. It may truly be said of him that he was the last great chief of the olden type.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

RECOLLECTIONS OF KAMEHAMEHA V.

Hawaii has not been known to the world very many years, but during that time a King of whom she may well be proud has reigned over the land, a King who would compare very favorably with the monarchs of more enlightened nations, Kamehameha V., who ascended the throne of the Hawaiian Islands upon the death of Kamehameha IV. in 1863.

Before ascending the throne Kamehameha V. had acted as Minister of the Interior under Kamehameha IV. He had a very strong will, so that he was not Minister in name alone, but attended faithfully to the duties of his office.

Upon the death of his brother, Kamehameha IV., Kamehameha V. showed his strong will. He persuaded his sister, Victoria, to give up ascending the throne, and in a few hours had himself proclaimed as King.* He declined to take an oath to the Constitution, and after making a trip to several parts of the Islands, called a Constitutional Convention to meet in Honolulu, and upon the delegates refusing to impose a property qualification for voters, the King sent them home and promulgated a new Constitution, in which he inserted a clause that no one could ascend the throne without taking the oath to this Constitution. In after years when I became well acquainted with Kamehameha, he often told me that he would not take the oath of the old Constitution, as he had made up his mind to set it aside, and he did not wish to commit perjury by swearing to support a Constitution that he had determined to set aside. The King felt that it would be wrong to commit perjury himself, and one example will show what he thought of others perjuring themselves. When Kamehameha received the news that K—— of Kona had given up being a minister of the gospel, I and several others were present. The King said that he had hoped that K—— would stand firm as long as he lived ; that he was

*An amendment to the Constitution declaring Prince Kamehameha to be the heir to the throne had passed the last Legislature.

sorry to have to say it of his own people, but too many of them would commit perjury in court, and that the native ministers and church members seemed to think that they could take an oath to be ministers of the gospel or followers of Christ, and that when they got tired of that, they could go back to a life of sin as easily as they could put on a new coat ; and as long as the Nation does not realize the solemnity of an oath to God, and the sin of breaking that oath, the Nation could never amount to anything.

When Kamehameha came to the throne, he found that his late brother owed so much money that most of his lands would have to be sold to settle up the estate. So he had the Act passed setting apart the Crown Lands, the income of which was used to pay his brother's debts, and after those debts were paid, then the income was to be for the Crown.

Kamehameha V. was not a King simply in name, but took an active part in the Government, and was well informed as to what his ministers were doing. He always dictated the programmes for the state funerals which occurred during his reign. He always prepared his own speeches for the opening and closing of Legislatures and for other state occasions. In order to keep himself well informed about other countries, the King took a great many American and English papers and magazines. It was his custom to read the speeches made in the English Parliament and in the American Congress, and he kept himself well informed as to the measures brought forward in those bodies. Several months before the Legislature was to meet, Kamehameha would hold a Cabinet meeting nearly every day to discuss the measures that the Government was going to bring before the Legislature. The King said, "I want my Cabinet to know before the Legislature meets, what I will support and what I will not support ; and I wish the Cabinet to show me beforehand the reasons why the Government should bring forward certain measures; and then there will be no surprise to my Cabinet during the session of the Legislature from not knowing what my views are."

Kamehameha was an honorable business man, and was unwilling to take an unfair advantage of others in business. Several years before he ascended the throne he failed in business and went into bankruptcy. After he had been on the throne over a year he di-

rected Judge Harris, who had been his lawyer when he failed, to pay all his old creditors in full, saying, "Although the Court has released me from paying these claims in full, I wish to have them all paid, as I am in a position to do it and do not wish any one to lose a cent by my having failed before."

The King was very particular about the small matters of business, and did not leave everything to others to look after. He always kept the run of anything that was purchased for him or by his orders. He would enter the price in his memorandum book. After breakfast he would call his people together, and looking over his book, would pass out the money to those who had made the purchases, saying, "You promised that such and such an article would be paid for to-day, now go and pay for it."

Business men in Honolulu have told me that they felt sure of their money on time when the King's servants made any purchases in his name. On his trips to Hilo, he would direct me to pay all his bills for supplies and to draw on him. I was constantly purchasing hundreds of dollars' worth of feathers, canoes, oloná and other articles, and drawing on him for the money, and during the the seven years that I was doing this I never had a complaint from any one of my drafts not being cashed on presentation.

At one time on a short trip to Hilo, he lodged in a native man's small house at the mouth of the Waiakea stream, instead of going to Keelikolani's house. Just before going on board of the steamer he called for the owner of the house and gave him twenty dollars in gold. The man exclaimed, "What is this for?" and placed it on the mat. The King said, "I have turned you out of your house for two days and I wish to give you a little present for your kindness to me." The man declined, saying, "You are my King and everything belongs to you, and I do not wish anything." The King replied, "I am not King to get whatever I can out of the people. I receive my salary so as to pay for what I need. I am not giving this to you as pay, but as a small present;" he then walked off to the boat leaving the money there.

Kamehameha would not take undue advantage of others, but at the same time he would not allow the natives to hang around the palace without working.

About two weeks after his father Kekuanaoa's funeral, he called

his father's retainers together and said to them, "You have mourned with me for my father, and now it is time for you to go to work. Those of you who want to work for me can have work, and if you need money to buy clothes with I will advance it on account, and I will pay you so many dollars a month for work." They replied, "Your father fed us all the time, and did not make us work, and you should do the same." Kamehameha replied, "I am not King to teach the Nation to be idle, but it is my place to teach the people to work and support their families. I do not want anybody to work for nothing; those who want to work for me will be paid for it, and those who do not want to work for me must go elsewhere to live, as after a certain time no food will be given out to those who are able to work and will not work. You have shown great respect for my father, and now you can not do him or the Nation any good by sitting in idleness and saying, 'We do this out of aloha for your father.'" The King kept his men at work, reclaiming marshes at Waikiki and planting taro or fishing, and when at Kaunakakai, on Molokai, would set them building walls or fishing.

Kamehameha always claimed that children should be educated to work as well as in their books. That if they were not taught to work with their hands while in school, they would not work after they left school, but the young men would think that they must be lawyers or something of the kind, and get their living by rascality if money should not come in fast enough to suit them.

Kamehameha may have encouraged the *Hula* in his younger days, but several years before he came to the throne he found that the natives on his lands on Oahu were travelling thirty miles a day to see the hula dances, and when at home were sleeping around their houses in the day time and going to dances at night, and neglecting to plant and cultivate food for their families. It roused his indignation, and he forbade their having any more dances on his lands, and turned off the hula dancers. At the next session of the Legislature he used all his influence to have the law passed prohibiting the Hawaiian hula unless a license was first obtained, and forbidding any licenses to be granted outside of Honolulu. While he was Minister of the Interior he had the law enforced very strictly, and to the day of his death he often said he found it neces-

sary to stop the hula, as it demoralized the natives all through the country, and broke up all work.

When the King's sister Victoria died, the natives performed a good many hulas around the palace grounds before the funeral. Afterwards he told me that he was sorry that he had allowed it, and that he would have no more of it there. When his father died, the choirs were allowed to sing at night, but there were no scenes of hula like those that had been held there formerly.

Having long known Kamehameha V., and having been in his employ until the time of his death, I can say that I saw nothing in him that led me to think of *Kahunaism*, or Sorcery. In justice to him it should be said that he was not a Kahuna, and that Kalakaua did not inherit his policy of Kahunaism from him. That he did not care to have Kahunas live on his lands or on the crown lands as squatters, is shown by the following extract taken from one of his letters: "Haa has written to me about his having been ejected from living at Piihonua. Happily 'squatters' are not recognized in law, and I see no difficulty in ousting him from the land. As owners of the crown property we can allow or disallow people* living as squatters on the crown lands. The question with us is, shall we harbor this man, and by so doing drive off the majority of the people from Piihonua? There can be no doubt in my mind of the authority and right of a *Konohiki* over a land to object to any squatter living on his land." True, Kamehameha believed in dreams, and had superstitious ideas like other Hawaiians, but are the Hawaiians the only people who have superstitious ideas and believe in dreams? Have not books about dreams and their meanings been written and printed by foreigners, and have they not in many instances been translated into Hawaiian, which helps to confirm the belief?

Kamehameha V. also believed in and knew how to use Hawaiian herbs, many of which are very powerful, and the use of which is now very much abused. In early days, and now in many instances, prayers and incantations were made to the various gods, but Kamehameha V., so far as I know, never practiced any of these arts. People are known to whom some of these medicines were given

* Haa was a noted Kahuna, and the natives were leaving Piihonua because he threatened to pray them to death.

without the use of *Kahunaiism*. Some of these receipts were given to others and nothing said about praying to the gods, etc. Though he understood the use of Hawaiian medicines, he did not practice their arts.

It has been said that Kamehameha V. did not care to appoint Hawaiians to positions of honor, and that when asked for his reasons he kept silent. This was not the case, as he really desired to place the Hawaiians in offices of honor, but he felt that few of them were capable of holding those offices, as he once told Lunalilo, when he asked him why he did not place more Hawaiians in the higher offices. The King replied: "Cousin, you and the natives have only yourselves to thank for not being in these offices. You know very well, cousin, that you could have the highest office in the Kingdom that is in my gift, if you would only keep straight and attend to business." Lunalilo replied, "I know it." The King then said: "Cousin, when I first came to the throne, I tried filling the higher offices with Hawaiians, and the first thing I knew the men were too big for their offices. I found they were keeping too many people around them, and drinking too much and not attending to their duties. Soon the Government money was missing, and so I quietly put my hand in my pocket and repaid the money to the Government, and dropped those persons and put men in their places who would not disgrace the country by drinking and squandering the Government money. There are plenty of natives who know enough and are smart enough to perform the duties of a great many of these offices, but it is hard to find one who will not be upset after a while by being put into office, and disgrace himself and the Nation. I feel that it is too bad that it is so, but, cousin, you know it is true." Lunalilo replied: "Yes, it is so."

Though Kamehameha had been in the habit of drinking a good deal in his younger days, he was quite temperate before he came to the throne, and was more and more so as long as he lived, and would never screen his servants when they got drunk or broke the laws. When they were arrested, he would either pay the fine or let them stay in jail as he thought best. The police were not afraid to arrest his servants, as they knew that the King would approve of their doing their duty.

When S. K—— was discharged from being a turnkey at the jail, he went to the King and asked him to reinstate him. The King told him that he had been warned not to get drunk, but as he had not listened, he had lost his place ; but he offered him another chance. He said to K——, “You can go up to Kona and look after my lands there as long as you let liquor alone, and I will get other work for you ; but if you commence drinking again, I will not give you any further help.” This kept S. K—— in check as long as Kamehameha lived.

After the great earthquake of 1868, when Kamehameha was on his way to Hilo and Kau on the steamer “Kilauea,” to see if the report was true that the lava had surrounded a number of natives on the seashore in Kau, he was suffering with a heavy cold, and one of the passengers urged him to take a little whisky, but he refused, saying that it would have been better for him if he had left it alone years before. Kamehameha V. really saw the evil caused by liquor and refused to sign a bill allowing liquor to be sold to the Hawaiians.

The King had the welfare of the Nation at heart, and tried hard to get a Reciprocity Treaty negotiated with the United States, and was planning to go himself to the States to work for the treaty. He approved of the establishment of a Leper Asylum on Molokai ; took great interest in the building of the Hawaiian Hotel in Honolulu and the Court House in Hilo, and had the Government Building commenced in Honolulu. Kamehameha felt that good roads ought to be made around the Islands, and at the time of his death had formed plans for a wagon road from Hilo directly to Kona, running past Kalaieha and Ahua Umi.

Kamehameha V. spoke well of most of the missionaries, and tried to put good men into office, and did not hesitate to place a missionary's son in office if he thought the young man would fill the office satisfactorily, and he made it a rule to put into office those who would have the interests of Hawaiians at heart.

Kamehameha V. said that Rev. H. H. Parker was a man who was working for the sake of doing good, and not for money. He said he wished there were more men like him in the Islands, and then there would be a great change for the better in the people.

Kamehameha V. was a man who stood by his friends faithfully,

and was very strong in his likes and dislikes. He was always very grateful for any kindness shown him while travelling around the Islands or elsewhere, and when any one came to Honolulu who had entertained him on his travels, he always took pains to have something done for him.

In the prime of life, in the midst of a successful reign, death crept upon Kamehameha V. He had been confined to the house for several months from an internal abscess. On the morning of his birthday preparations were going on for the celebration of the day, and natives were coming and going. Dr. Hutchinson, Minister of the Interior, was his physician, and called in Dr. Trousseau for a consultation. Dr. T. said that if the King had any business to settle he had better do it at once, as he would not live through the day. Kamehameha was told this by some one, and he bowed his head as if in prayer. After a while he said, "It is hard to die on my birthday, but God's will be done." Presently he started to go into another room, but stumbled and fell upon his knees, while some of his attendants held on to him and steadied him. He remained on his knees and said, "This is the way our Saviour fell on his way to die on the Cross." They helped him back to the room that he came from. Before he became insensible he offered the throne to Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, but she declined it, saying, "There is your sister Keelikolani." Kamehameha said, "She will not do;" and turning to Gov. P. Nahaolelua asked, "Whom shall I appoint to the throne? Which of these four, Pauahi, Queen Emma, Lunalilo or Keelikolani?" Nahaolelua would not answer at first, and finally declined to say which one he thought ought to have the throne. Kamehameha then said, "I thought you were a man of common sense, but it seems you have none:" *kainoa he kanaka naauao, manao paa oe, aka aole ka!*

Soon his spirit took its flight from its earthly tenement, before the King had signed the will which had been hastily drawn up, or had appointed his successor to the throne.

R. A. LYMAN.

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*Deceased,

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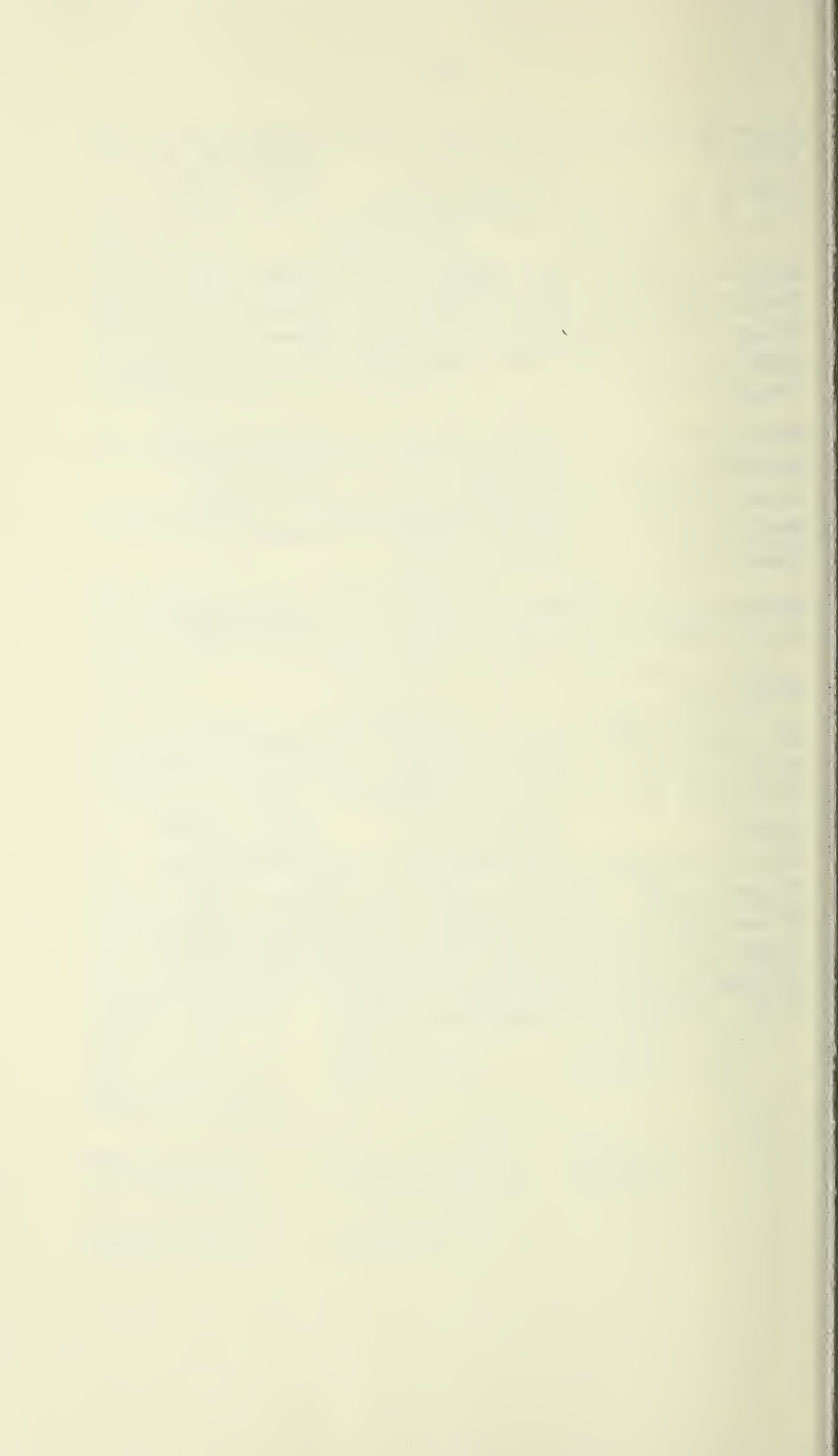
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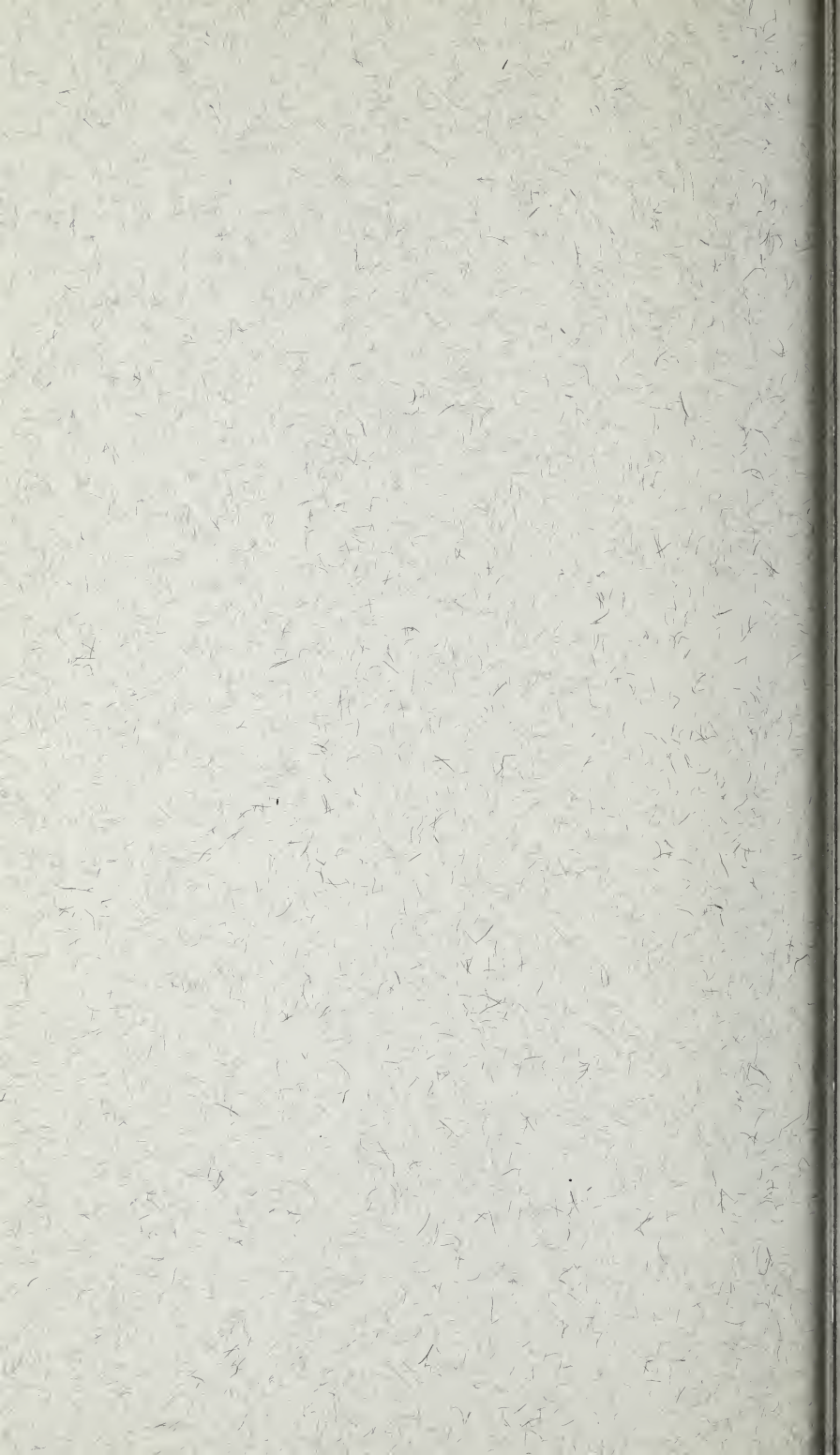
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FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT

— OF THE —

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HONOLULU, H. I.

1896.



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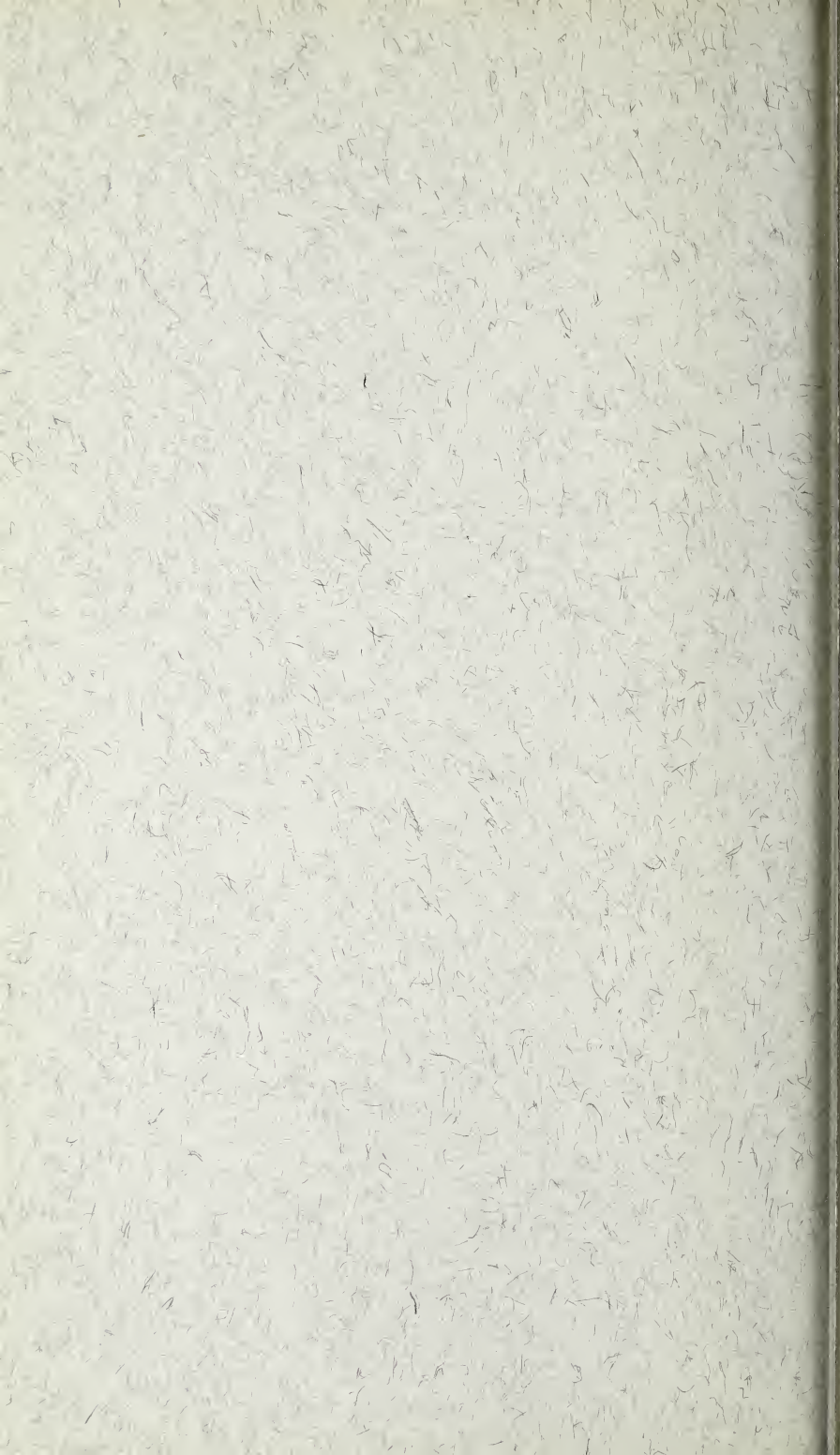
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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 29, 1895.

The Society met in Room No. 3 of the Y. M. C. A. Hall at 7:30

P. M.

In the absence of Hon. W. R. Castle, Hon. S. B. Dole, one of the Vice-Presidents, acted as Chairman.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary, W. D. Alexander, read his Annual Report, showing that very little had been accomplished during the past year, the work of the Society being interrupted by political and sanitary disturbances. He announced the titles of several papers promised for future meetings.

A letter from Hon. W. R. Castle, the President of the Society, was read, giving some account of the family of Frances Wardale. She was a cousin of Capt. Cooke. Coming to Philadelphia with her husband in 1773, after his death she married a Mr. McAllister. One of her daughters married William Stevenson. His grandson, J. M. Stevenson, now residing in Pittsfield, Mass., has some relics of Capt. Cooke, though the greater part disappeared at the time of the removal of the family from Philadelphia. Mr. Castle mentioned particularly an edition of Cooke's Voyages in eight volumes, published by Strahan and Cadell, London, 1773-1784. Also a large engraved portrait of Capt. Cooke from a painting by N. Vance; and a coat of arms, in colors, bearing on the crest the words, "Circa Orbem," and as a motto, "Nil intentatum reliquit."

The Treasurer, G. P. Castle, presented his Annual Report, from which it appears that the total receipts from the members amounted to \$221; from other sources \$63.01; total \$284.01. The expenditures amounted to \$236.20. There was in the Savings Bank a deposit of \$301.30 to the credit of the Society.

The Librarian, Miss Burbank, read her report showing that the bound volumes in Hawaiian had been catalogued, and the pamphlets arranged for cataloguing. Frequent calls are made for old newspapers and for other periodical publications, and as soon as possible these should be bound so as to be available for reference.

The officers of the Society were re-elected unanimously. President, Hon. W. R. Castle; Vice-Presidents, Hon. S. B. Dole, Col. W. F. Allen, Mr. Joseph S. Emerson; Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander; Recording Secretary, Rev. C. M. Hyde, D. D.; Treasurer, Mr. George P. Castle; Librarian, Miss M. F. Burbank.

The following persons, recommended by the Board of Managers, were elected Active Members: Mrs. Ellen McCully-Higgins, Miss Dorothea Lamb, Messrs. W. Berlowitz, G. R. Carter, Lyle A. Dickey, E. P. Dole, A. S. Humphreys, H. H. Williams, John F. Scott, H. E. Waity.

Also, as Corresponding Members: Dr. H. M. Lyman, of Chicago; J. G. Swan, Esq., Port Townsend; Mr. Hallet Phillips, Washington, D. C.; Rev. W. B. Oleson, Worcester; Rev. E. G. Porter, Dorchester, Mass.

Prof. Alexander read from a paper contributed by Mr. M. M. Gower, of New Haven, Conn., "Some Reminiscences of a Voyage to the Islands in 1858-9, and Incidents of Travel during a subsequent residence there."

The Recording Secretary read a brief paper by Miss Teuira Henry, giving a graphic account of Tahiti, its products, people, worship, and amusements. This it was voted to publish.

It was also voted to begin at once the binding of the newspapers in the Society's collection; and the Corresponding Secretary was authorized to purchase such books as may be needed to complete certain departments of the Library. If possible, a catalogue is to be published this year.

Adjourned.

C. M. HYDE,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1895.

Our Society has not been exempt from the influences which have interfered with other literary and scientific work during the past year. The activity of our friends in New Zealand in the study of Polynesian history and folk-lore is in striking contrast with our own inactivity in such pursuits.

The most valuable contribution received by us during the past year has been Mr. James Hunnewell's narrative of a residence in this island during the years 1817-1818, which is now in the printer's hands. For the coming year contributions are expected from Mr. E. H. Bailey on Hawaiian fishing, from Rev. S. Desha on Ancient Hawaiian Poetry, from Mrs. E. M. Nakuina on the story of a famous Shark God, and from Dr. H. M. Lyman on his reminiscences of Hawaii in the forties, to say nothing of others who have valuable materials in hand.

It is to be hoped that the state of our funds may soon justify us in publishing David Malo's Archæology and other historical treasures existing at present only in manuscript. The Fornander Manuscript collection is the property of Hon. C. R. Bishop, who will no doubt see that it is properly edited.

The lamented Robert Louis Stevenson, who was a member of our Society, had collected ancient poems and traditions, especially in Tahiti and Samoa, which he expected to give to the world some day.

The curious discoveries made on Necker Island have excited much interest in other countries, but little if any new light was thrown upon the mystery by the late exploration of that island.

I will close by quoting from a letter by Mr. Wm. Hallett Phillips of Washington, D. C., who writes as follows:

"I hope that your society will thrive, for nothing more concerns a people than the preservation of the records of the past, before that past becomes too shadowy."

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Corresponding Secretary.

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT,

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

For the year ending November 28, 1895, I have to report as follows:

RESOURCES.

Cash in hand from last year.....	\$ 19 24
Funds in bank from last year.....	236 25
	<u> </u> \$ 255 49

RECEIPTS DURING THE YEAR.

Membership dues and initiations.	\$221 00
Sale of books, pamphlets, etc	14 56
Interest from P. O. Bank for two years.....	46 45
	<u> </u> \$ 282 01
	<u> </u> \$ 537 50

DISBURSEMENTS.

Collection and distribution.....	\$ 21 80
Librarian salary for one year.....	100 00
Janitor salary for one year.....	48 00
Purchase of books, pamphlets, papers, etc.....	25 25
Printing 500 Annual Reports	36 10
Rent of Y. M. C. A. hall for one time.....	2 50
Postage	3 55
	<u> </u> \$ 236 20
Present available funds.....	<u> </u> \$ 301 30

The receipts of the Society for the past year have over-run the expenses by \$45.75; while this balance is on the right side, it is desirable that our income should be very much larger than it is now, for the reason that there is much that can be done in carrying out the work of the Society that will require more funds.

We have in the Postoffice Savings Bank a small reserve of \$236.20, and while it is true that we have this money at our dis-

posals, it is desirable that we use only the income from any investment that we may have.

The annual dues were placed at the small sum of one dollar in order that no one should be burdened, and it was hoped that the membership would be large enough to fully cover all financial requirements. This source of income the past year from about two hundred paying members amounted to \$221 which includes some initiation fees, but as previously explained, this is not sufficient for the needs of the Society, and through the desire not to have the expenses over-run the income, some necessary work and purchases have been postponed.

In view of the above statement it is urged, for the good of the Society, that individuals use their influence in bringing in new members. Gentlemen or ladies willing to join need not wait for an invitation, but can present their names to the Treasurer who may be found at his place of business, or to any other member of the Board of Managers.

The expense to new members will be for the first year, six dollars, five of which are for initiation and one dollar dues and thereafter only a yearly due of one dollar.

Respectfully submitted,

G. P. CASTLE,

Treasurer Hawaiian Historical Society.

TAHITI.

Tahiti, the largest and highest of the Society Group, very much resembles Maui in form, but it lies in the opposite direction south-east of Hawaii, in latitude 17 south, and 149 west longitude.

Tahiti proper is the larger peninsula, and the smaller peninsula, Taiarapu, lies south-east, connected with it by a narrow isthmus two miles in width, of gently, undulating, fertile ground, from whose highest summit can be seen, through a long avenue of orange trees, the sea that approaches the eastern shore, and lies calm, locked in by a chain of salt lakes that are surrounded by sundry varying bays and slopes that delight the eyes of the traveler, as they lie perpetually clothed in lovely dense foliage, over which the cocoanut "Feathery Palm" triumphantly waves. And on the west lies the ever tossing, open ocean, that breaks over a coral reef extending close along the shore, with verdure resembling the former.

From this centre the lovely hills rise gradually towering one above the other on either side, until they reach the majestic peaks of the central mountains. And north-west of this land lies its beautiful sister Isle, Moorea, formerly called Aimeo, about fourteen miles away, like a royal waiting-maid, attendant on a Queen.

In former times, these two islands were supposed to have floated away from Raiatea and Tahaa, a hundred miles distant, and as they were peopled by plebeians they very readily received Raiatean Royalty to rule over them, and their highest families have always been proud to trace their lineage back to the Kings of Opoa in Raiatea, where tradition says Royalty first descended from the gods.

In passing through the high Islands of the Society Group, the traveler is charmed with the verdant picturesque beauty peculiar to

each one, while the low Atols of the Paumotus, rich in cocoanuts and pearl-fisheries, have also their fascination.

The Tahitians, which name includes all the people of the Society Islands, formerly believed that Taaroa was the supreme deity, giving power to all the other gods, his progeny, and also to man. But they seem to have thought him too great to be troubled with human affairs, and consequently worshiped numerous other gods, of the air and land and sea, the greatest among whom were Tane, the man god, Raa, sacredness, and Oro, the most recent of the great divinities, who was supposed to have been born at Opoa, in Raiatea, of Hina inland and Taaroa, as god of the air and earth, and of war, in consequence of which he became the greatest and most dreaded god.

Tane was supposed to be a handsome man, whose dwelling place was the highest heaven, and he was god of beauty and of artisans, for which reason people of every class vied with each other in endeavoring to become most perfect in handicraft and all manner of work, kings and chieftains priding themselves in working better than their subjects, and thinking it a disgrace not to do so with a masterly hand.

Pigs and fruits and beautiful gifts were the principal offerings taken to the Marae, or Temple of Tane, who seldom required a human sacrifice; but for the worship of Oro hundreds of men were slain and offered at one time, while he also required every other good gift and much choice food.

Opoa was the seat of the Moloch worship of the Society Islands and many of the neighbouring groups. There, representatives of those various places assembled periodically to render homage to "Oro in his home." The people of the windward side were called Teauri, and those of the leeward side were called Teautea, and they met by appointment at certain places, to land in grand procession through the sacred harbour of Opoa, with numerous offerings. The great double canoes of each group were headed by a high priest and his assistants, clothed in sacred white *maros* and capes, fringed deeply or lightly according to their clerical rank,

and they advanced in terrible solemnity, the strokes of the paddles keeping measured time with the triumphant blasts of the conch trumpet, and deep sounding roll of the consecrated drum, arriving in the early dawn at their destination, where they were met with corresponding pomp by the clergy and lay brethren of the land.

Across the bows of those double canoes were alternately laid a slain man without blemish, and a shark or whale, and other great fishes of the deep. And when landed, the human offerings were strung through the ears and suspended upon the bough of the trees over the Marae, while the great fishes were laid upon altars that stood for that purpose. Then the priests united in offering the former, technically called "Oro's long-legged fish," to "Oro in his home," while the real fishes were offered to "Oro inured to the ocean." Then Oro was supposed to accept the offerings, and share them with all the host of gods that were believed also to be present as his invited guests.

Among all this terribly earnest solemnity, it is said that all nature was hushed in awful silence. No child must cry, no pig must squeal, no dog must bark, or cock crow; no human being or other living creature could roam abroad and escape alive; and no fire must burn in the dwellings or upon unconsecrated grounds.

The trumpet and drum had a voice in all the service conducted upon the Marae, and the closing beats of the drum and the rising of smoke from sacred fire, at last announced to the waiting populace that the grim spectacle was over, and Oro's long-legged fish were hidden away.

After this, all sacredness was supposed to be ended, and the people from the east and west intermingled with the Raiateans in social festivities in which the clergy and laymen freely indulged, and there was a liberal exchange of presents. Various amusements ensued, in which the Ariois, or comedians, took a prominent part, ending in various dances, among which was the hura, not at all like the waltz-like steps of the Hawaiian Hula. Their surf-riding was similar to that of the Hawaiians.

The Tahitian amusements were various and similar to those of

the Hawaiians, described by Professor Alexander in his History. The principal of them were: Sham fights on land and sea, in which the long *omore* or wooden spear was dexterously thrown, warded off, caught, and returned; foot races to win a prize of valuable clothing, ornaments or food placed at the end of the goal that the runners were to reach, and which they caught in doing so; archery of two kinds, in one of which they aimed at a banana trunk erected for that purpose, while in the other each person endeavored to outdo the other in sending his arrow the furthest; boxing was practiced in a friendly way, and they played cricket and foot-ball with light balls made of strips of the dry banana trunk. There were always umpires to distribute the prizes and settle difficulties. But the gambling system were unheard of among them, and consequently there is no word in the Tahitian language for bet, and so they have taken the civilized French word *parier*. They also flew wonderful kites of immense size resembling men, turtles, birds on the wing and other things, with numerous streaming tails, and which took several strong men to hold them in flying. All these amusements were purely Polynesian, only remarkably resembling the European sports. The children, too, span tops made of great seeds pierced through with pivots, and of wood hewn out, which they beat along the ground.

Tahiti and Moorea are closely connected in history, and their inhabitants are one people. In times of conflict, when the chiefs of Tahiti were closely pressed, they fled to Moorea for peace and rest; and it was there that the warrior King Pomare I. and the English missionaries found retreat amid religious anarchy at the beginning of this century, and that the idols were first cast down and burned.

From those two lovely gems of the South Seas first emanated the gladdening rays of Christian light that dawned upon the numerous groups of Teauri and Teaoatea, and glimmerings of that light reached the Hawaiian Islands proudly standing in this Northern Sea! King Pomare, the conqueror, in the south rejoiced in his "New God Jehovah," as he emphatically designated the

true God, and his great contemporary, Kamehameha I. and his people were waiting in readiness to receive Him also.

Some of the early Tahitian Christians suffered martyrdom at the hands of Oro's adherents, in a most touching, heroic manner. Tahitian missionaries have nobly done their part in aiding the white missionaries in their work, and everywhere their influence for good among their fellow-insulars cannot be told. With all their primitive zeal, some are working in New Guinea; part of those who went first were poisoned by the heathen there, but a reinforcement very readily took their places. Yet, still the Tahitian people are subject to all the faults peculiar to their conditions and circumstances.

(Signed)

TEUIRA HENRY.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY E. BAILEY, FEBRUARY, 1895.

What I write of Hawaiian History must be mostly that of which I was a personal observer. If I introduce hearsay, it must be that of whose truth I am well satisfied.

I sailed for the Hawaiian Islands in December, 1836, arriving at Honolulu on the 9th of April of the next year. The remains of the King's sister, Harriet Nahienaena, were lying in state on the King's bark "Kai," in the harbor of Honolulu when we arrived.

At that time most of the missionaries who had preceded us were still living at the islands. Dr. Chapin and Mr. Samuel Ruggles, with their families were in the United States on account of ill health, and neither returned again to the islands.

Dr. Holman of the pioneers had left the mission at once on his arrival, and Mr. Ely and Mr. Spaulding had also left. These three last mentioned I never saw, but the two former I met in America before sailing for the islands.

Some of the missionaries whom we found at the islands were in-

valids. Mrs. Bingham was one, and Mr. Levi Chamberlain and Mr. Dibble, who, a short time before, had buried his first wife. The first Mrs. Bishop had also died at the islands, and Mrs. Lyons died soon after we arrived.

Kamehameha III. was king at the time of our arrival. He was young and had been influenced by bad men who spared no effort to prejudice him against the American missionaries.

He seems to have wavered for a while, but after some years of experience he became their decided friend, and such he remained till his death.

All the most marked progress of the nation from a state of barbarism to one of comparative civilization occurred during his reign—unless the abrogation of idolatry be reckoned as a part. In every kind of improvement he took an active part.

He may well be called "The Father of his people," and his great study seemed to be to prepare them for the influx of white men, which he evidently foresaw would greatly increase.

He was not ignorant of the fact that in all cases which had then occurred, the natives had succumbed to the white man when the two came in contact, and it was probably owing to this fact that he had taken part in negotiating a treaty of annexation to the United States on the evening before he died, and was to have signed the instrument on the next morning, but for his untimely taking off,—as rumor had it, that night. It is not for me to vouch for the truth and falsehood of the rumor, but the rumor itself was an undoubted fact.

It was in the prosecution of my calling as a teacher that I learned certain noteworthy facts. In the course of my teaching I was wont to tell my pupils of whatever might interest them in other lands, and in return they told me some things about their own land, of which, otherwise, I might not have heard. It was thus that I learned of the fall of an immense meteor on the island of Lanai some years before. Being new in the use of the Hawaiian language it was not in my power to ascertain the date of the fall, but that it was not long before I think quite probable. This fall

of the meteor has been noted by others, and I cannot certainly say that I have not myself seen the pit caused by its fall.*

Another occurrence noted by my pupils of that time was a great eruption of lava which burst out on the southern slope of Haleakala, in Honuaula, probably now one hundred and fifty years ago, in which an old woman and a small boy were surrounded and destroyed.

Those who live on the slopes of Haleakala must not be too sure that its fires will not again burst forth afresh. If I am not mistaken, Vesuvius was quiescent for 900 years, and then again broke forth.

I need not speak of the filling up of the immense fish pond of Paiea on the west coast of Hawaii, which was occasioned by an eruption of lava in 1801. I myself passed from end to end over the immense stone wall which inclosed it before it was filled up.

At the same time—about 1839, I passed what might be called the Hawaiian Navy, in its near vicinity. I have never seen such canoes elsewhere, or so many at one place.

Those were the days when all the ways of Hawaii nei were still adapted to their recently abandoned heathenism; there had not been time to shape them to the new order of things. There was no rightness to be seen, with few and feeble exceptions. Even some, if not all of the great churches were built, as the old *heiaus* were built, by the exercise of the arbitrary power of the chiefs. Roads, there were next to none, lands were not fenced, nor was the tenure of land established till later. Equal laws had hardly begun to operate. Upstart white men were carried off their feet by their sudden exaltation among a people whom they considered so much their inferiors. Iron hoop coinage had not entirely passed away.

* It fell at a place called Hoku-nui, over half a mile north of the village of Maunalei, Lanai. A pit like a small crater in the sandy soil, marks the spot where it fell.

LIST OF MEMBERS

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 28, 1894-5.

A bles, L. C.	Achi, W. C.	Alexander, W. D.
Allen, W. F.	Allen, S. C.	Andrews, Dr. G. P.
Anderson, Dr. R. W.	Atkinson, A. T.	Auld, Wm.
B anning, R. B.	Bertram, Bro. G.	Boyd, Jas. H.
Baldwin, H. P.	Benner, E.	Boehme, T. H.
Barnet, J.	Berlowitz, Wm.	Bowen, W. A.
Beckwith, Rev. E. G.	Bishop, Rev. S. E.	Booth, C. W.
Beckley, G. C.	Bolte, C.	Brown, C. A.
Brown, Cecil	Brown, Frank	Bush, J. E.
C arter, J. O.	Carter, G. R.	Castle, G. P.
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Carter, Mrs. H. A. P.	Cartwright, Bruce	Cassidy, Jno.
Carter, A. W.	Castle, W. R.	Catton, R.
Cleghorn, A. S.	Cooke, A. F.	Corbett, D. W.
Cooke, C. M.	Cornwell, W. H.	Cummins, J. A.
Cummings, W. H.	Cunha, E. S.	
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Damon, F. W.	Davidson, J. M.	Dillingham, B. F.
Dayton, D.	Desha, G. L.	Dillingham, Geo.
Day, Dr. F. R.	Dickey, C. H.	Dias, P. A.
Dimond, W. W.	Dole, E. P.	Dowsett, J. M.
Dole, S. B.	Dowsett, J. I., Sr.	
E hlers, P. F. A.	Emerson, Rev. O. P.	Ena, John
Emerson, J. S.	Emmeluth, Jno.	Estep, E. W.

F ernandez, Abraham	Fisher, J. H.	Foster, Wm.
Fouesnel, Rev. Father		Frear, W. F.
G iffard, W. M.	Graham, W. M.	Grossman, Dr. M.
H aalelea, Mrs. A.	Hatch, F. M.	Higgins, Mrs. E. Mc-
Hackfeld, J. F.	Herrick, C. F.	Cully.
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Hasting, F. P.	Hind, R.	Hobron, T. W.
Ho Fon	Hosmer, F. A.	Humphreys, E. S.
Hopper, J. A.	Hustace, Chas.	Hyde, C. M.
I aukea, C. P.	Irwin, W. G,	
J ones, G. W. C.	Jones, P. C.	Judd, Miss H. S.
Jones, J. W.	Judd, A. F.	
K anakanui, S. M.	Kauhi, Rev. A.	Kidwell, Jno.
Kauhane, Rev. E.	Kerr, L. B.	King, J. A.
Kitcat, Rev. V. H.	Kynnersley, C. S.	
L amb, Miss Dora	Lowrey, F. J.	Lucas, Albert
Lewers, Robert	Logan, D.	Luce, Wm. S.
Lindsay, Thomas	Lucas, Geo.	Lyons, C. J.
Lyle, James		
M ackintosh, Rev. A.	Mehrtens, J. A.	Miner, Dr. F. L.
Magoon, J. A.	Mehrtens, Wm.	Monsarrat, J. M.
Marsden, Joseph	Mellis, A. M.	Monsarratt, M. D.
May, Tom	Meyers, Dr. R. P.	Mossman, T. R.
Mouritz, Dr. A.		
N akuina, M. K.	Nichols, Dr. A. E.	Notley, C., Jr.
Neumann, Paul	Nolte, H. J.	
O at, F. B.	Okabe, Rev. J.	
P aine, W. H.	Parmelee, H. A.	Peck, P. .

Parke, W. C.	Paris, J. D.	Peterson, Dr. C. A.
Parker, Samuel	Peacock, W. C.	Poor, H. F.
Porter, T. C.		
R enton, G. F.	Ripley, C. B.	Robert, Right Rev. F.
Reynolds, W. P.	Robinson, M. P.	Gulstan
Richardson, A. W.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.	Rosa, Antone
Roth, S.	Rowell, W. E.	
S avidge, S.	Severance, H. W.	Smith, W. O.
Schaefer, F. A.	Scott, J. F.	Smith, D. B.
Schmidt, H. W.	Smith, G. W.	Smithies, G. E.
Simerson, A. C.	Smith, Henry	Swanzy, F. M.
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Tracy, J. M.	Thrum, T. G.	
V ivas, J. M.	Von Holt, H.	
W aity, H. E.	Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Williams, Chas.
Walker, T. R.	Whitney, H. M.	Wilder, Mrs. S. G.
Waller, G. J.	Whiting, W. A.	Wilder, W. C.
Waterhouse, J. T.	White, J. C.	Wilcox, G. N.
Waterhouse, H.	Wichman, H. F.	Wilcox, A. S.
Weedon, W. C.	Widemann, H. A.	Wilcox, Charles
Wetmore, Dr. C. H.	Widemann, C. A.	Willis, Right Rev. A.
West, G.	Williams, H. H.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
Wright, W. H.	Wundenberg, Fred	Wodehouse, E. H.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Baker, R. H.	Helekunihi, Elias
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CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

W. N. Armstrong, Honolulu.
E. P. Bond, Boston, Mass.
Rear-Admiral Geo. Brown, U. S. N.
Henry C. Carter, New York.
Mrs. H. A. P. Carter, Honolulu.
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T. H. Davies, Esq., Southport, England.
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Manley Hopkins, Esq., London, England.
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S. Percy Smith, Esq., Wellington, New Zealand.
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N. L. Tenney, Brooklyn, New York.
Edward Tregear, Esq., Wellington, New Zealand.

Rev. S. J. Whitmee, Apia, Samoa.

Hon. James Grant Wilson, Washington, D. C.

J. G. Swan, Esq., Port Townsend.

Rev. E. G. Porter, Dorchester, Mass.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

Armstrong, Gen. S. C. Castle, S. N.

Austin, J. W. Castle, H. N.

Berger, C. O. Hill, Walter

Bickerton, R. F. Kawainui, J. U.

Carter, C. L. McIntosh, H. W.

Cartwright, A. J. Pratt, F. S.

Trousseau, Dr. G. Walker, J. S.

Smith, J. Mott

Smith, W. Jas.

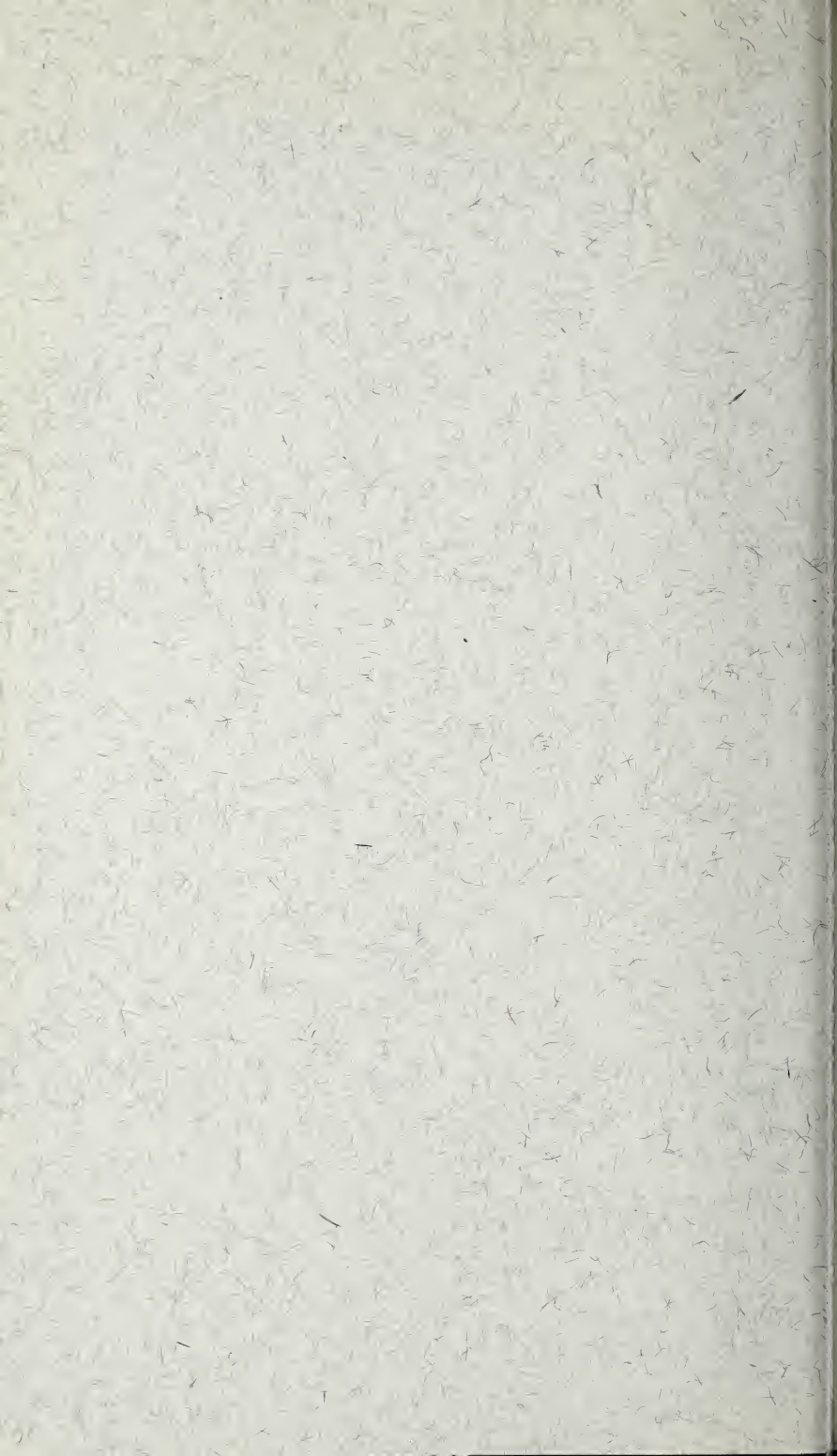
Stevens, J. L.

Stevenson, R. L.

Spencer, C. N.

Sorenson, T.

Woods, Dr. G. W.



FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT

—OF THE—

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

HONOLULU, H. I.

1896.



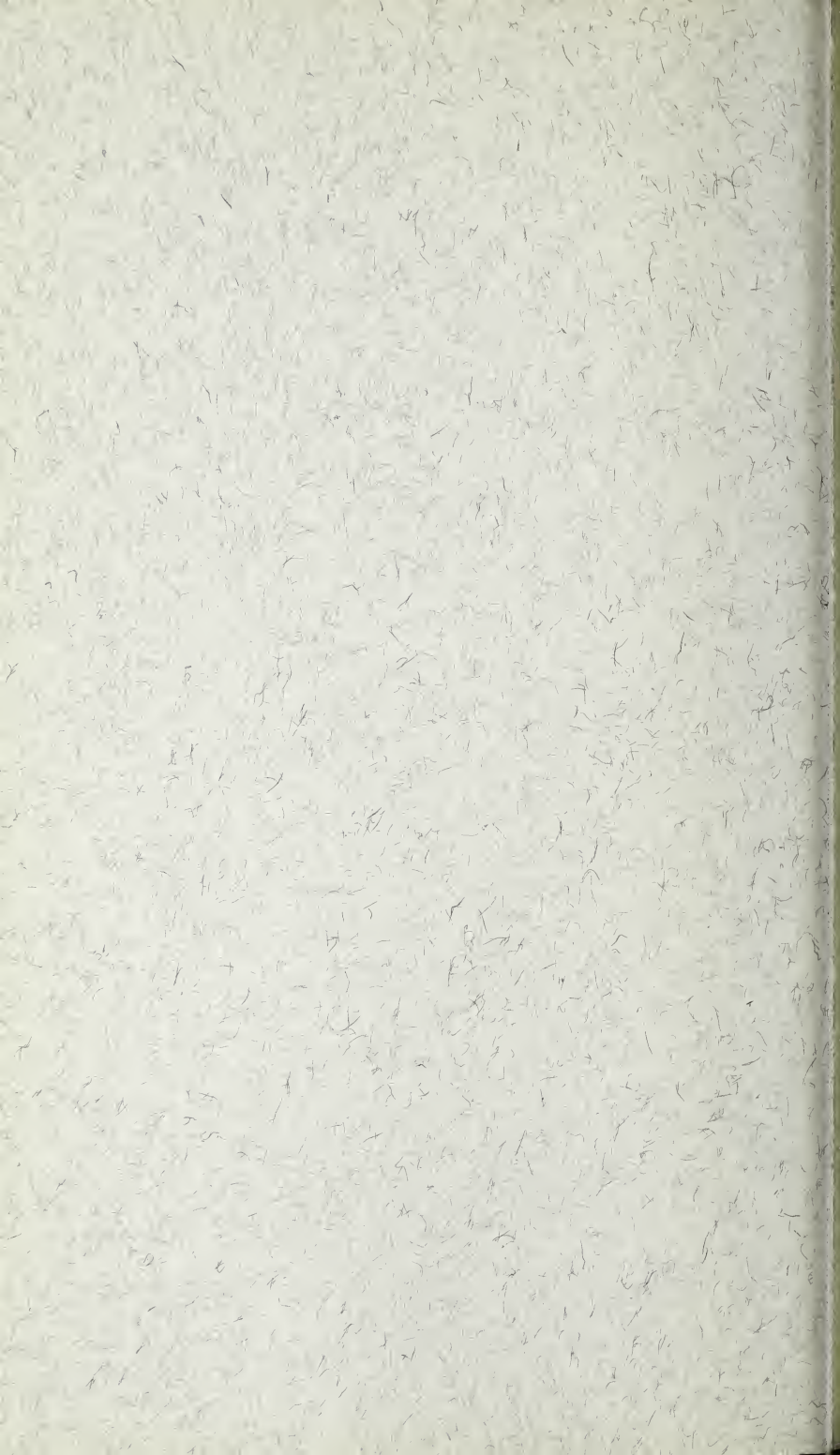
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OFFICERS, 1897.

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VICE-PRESIDENT.....	S. B. DOLE
“ “	W. F. ALLEN
“ “	J. S. EMERSON
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RECORDING SECRETARY.....	C. M. HYDE
TREASURER.....	T. R. MOSSMAN
LIBRARIAN.....	MARY A. BURBANK

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 28, 1896.

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Nov. 28, 1896, at 7:30 P. M., the President, Hon. W. R. Castle, being in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Hon. W. F. Allen, in the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. G. P. Castle, read the Treasurer's Annual Report, showing total receipts of \$294, and disbursements \$292.95. There was in the Savings Bank a deposit of \$271.40 to the credit of the Society. He reported also the receipt of a donation of \$2000 from the Trustees of the Charles R. Bishop Fund.

It was voted that the Corresponding Secretary should write to Hon. C. R. Bishop in grateful acknowledgement of his generous gift, the only permanent fund of the Society, to which it is hoped that others will make additions from time to time.

The Librarian, Miss M. A. Burbank, read her Annual Report, giving the details of the additions to the Library during the year.

The Corresponding Secretary read his Annual Report, making mention of various items of interest in his department.

The Recording Secretary read some recommendations from the Board of Managers, which were adopted by vote of the Society.

Messrs. W. F. Wilson, J. Q. Wood and J. L. Dumas were elected to Active membership; and as Corresponding Members, Hon. J. W. Foster of Washington, D. C., Capt. Nathan Appleton, of Boston, Mass., and Dr. Emily B. Ryder, of Bombay, India.

It was voted to publish a list of the bound volumes of books in the Library of the Society.

The officers for last year, with the exception of Mr. G. P. Castle, were re-elected. Mr. Castle's resignation as treasurer was accepted,

with a vote of thanks for his faithful and efficient service, and Mr. T. R. Mossman was chosen to fill the vacancy. The officers now are:

President.....	Hon W. R. Castle.
Vice-President.....	President S. B. Dole.
“ “	Colonel W. F. Allen.
“ “	Mr. J. S. Emerson.
Corresponding Secretary	Prof. W. D. Alexander.
Recording Secretary	Rev. C. M. Hyde, D. D.
Treasurer.....	Mr. T. R. Mossman.
Librarian	Miss Mary A. Burbank.

Dr. N. B. Emerson then read a paper written by Mrs. E. M. Nakuina, giving the legend of Nanaue, the Shark-man, which by vote of the Society, was requested for publication.

Prof. W. D. Alexander read an autograph letter by J. B. Rives, of date March 22, 1825, which he had purchased of a dealer in Paris in 1894, and now presented to the Society. The reading of the letter was followed by that of extracts from Capt. Duhaut-Cilly's narrative of his voyage around the world, which served to explain the letter as well as M. Rives' subsequent history. Prof. Alexander was thanked for the gift which he had made to the archives of the Society, and was requested to publish it as part of the Occasional Papers of the Society.

The Recording Secretary gave an abstract of the legend of Wai-anuenue, the name of the idol recently found on Kauai, purchased by Hon. G. N. Wilcox, and by him presented to the B. P. Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History.

C. M. HYDE,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I hereby submit the following report of the finances of the Society for the year ending November 28, 1896.

The receipts during the year have been:

Membership dues and initiations	\$174 00	
Interest on Two Hawaiian Government Bonds..	120 00	
		\$ 294 00

The disbursements for the year have been:

Collection and distribution.....	\$ 17 00	
Salary of Librarian for the year.....	100 00	
Salary of Janitor.....	48 00	
Purchase of books, pamphlets and papers.....	52 30	
Stationery and copying.....	10 15	
Printing reports and circulars.	33 00	
Postage	7 50	
Accrued interest payable on Bonds.....	25 00	
		\$ 292 95
Leaving a balance of receipts over disbursements		\$ 1 05

The present available funds are this day as follows:

Funds in the Savings Bank.....	\$ 271 40
Cash in hand this day.....	44 65
	\$ 316 05
To this may be added 2 Hawaiian Gov't. 6 per- cent. Bonds	2,000 00
Making the financial resources of the Society...	\$2,316 05

In reference to the item of Government Bonds, I may say that during the year this Society has been presented with \$2,000 by the Hon. C. R. Bishop, which was invested in these bonds. This, as you will see, brings in a revenue of \$120 per annum, which will materially aid in carrying on the work of the Society.

There have been eight new members added to the Society this year.

Respectfully submitted,

G. P. CASTLE,
Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN:

During the past year there has been little to report. The books ordered and received are as follows:

"Moko," or Maori Tattooing, by Major-General Robley.

London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres for the year 1821.

Kotzebue's Voyage in 1826, etc., in the Discovery-ship "Pret-priatie."

Ledyard's Narrative, edition of 1783, a present from Mr. V. L. Tenney.

From Mr. H. M. Whitney, a book on Hawaii, by C. de Varigny.

Various statistical works have been received from the U. S. Government, and three books, together with a number of pamphlets, from Prof. D. P. Todd, of Amherst College.

Rev. O. H. Gulick has presented several pamphlets, and others have been received from New Zealand. Numerous circulars from publishing houses and other firms in various countries have come to hand.

Mr. Henry F. Poor presented in April last, a large quantity of valuable historical material, and has since supplemented that gift by bringing clippings from newspapers, and a pamphlet, entitled "Hawaii, the Story of a National Wrong," by Julius A. Palmer, Jr.

Of the Hawaiian newspapers taken by the Society, the daily "Ka Leo" ceased publication May 18th, 1896. The daily "Oiaio" also ceased publication June 26th, and the weekly "Oiaio" has not been brought to the Library since Sept. 4th, thus leaving the "Kuokoa" the only Hawaiian paper now coming to the Society.

The Library of the Historical Society has not been consulted as much this year as in previous years.

It would probably be an advantage to have a printed list of the books in the Society's Library, both for the benefit of the members, and as an aid in obtaining new acquisitions to the collection.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1896.

Again I am obliged to apologize for the meagerness of my report.

Since the publication of Mr. James Hunnewell's valuable narrative, and of the last annual report, no more papers have been published by this Society. Two papers, however, have lately been contributed, which will be read this evening, and a number of our members have prosecuted historical researches during the past year. A translation by Miss Henry of an ancient Raiatean poem entitled "Honoura," has been published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and has attracted much attention in New Zealand. I am informed also that Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's Hawaiian Antiquities is nearly ready for the press.

THE ANCIENT NAMES OF NEW ZEALAND.

The publication in one of our former reports of an interpretation of the word "Aotearoa," a Maori name for New Zealand, which made it mean the *long white cliffs* or the *long white world*, drew out an interesting letter from ex-Judge Fenton of New Zealand, a veteran Maori scholar.

He shows that "few native names are descriptive, except of rivers and mountains. Almost all other names are derived from ancestors or are names brought from their old homes." He suggested that "Aotearoa" may be the name given by the ancient

colonists of the Arawá canoe to New Zealand, as being the first land they saw after leaving their former homes, and that a small island south or south-west of Rarotonga was so called, in which, however, he seems to have been mistaken. He also affirms that "there are no white cliffs of any length on the coast of New Zealand. There is an occasional landslip and that is all. Otherwise the coast, where it is not a swamp, is clothed with vegetation to the water's edge." On the other hand, we learn from Miss Henry that the name "*Te Aotea*" formerly included all the groups west of Raiatea, and it seems possible therefore that the Maoris coming from the Society Islands, might have brought this name with them.

According to S. Percy Smith, Esq., an ancient name of New Zealand was Hukurangi, and another still earlier name was "*Te Ika a Maui*," i.e., the Fish of Maui, who is said to have drawn it up out of the depths, or in other words, to have discovered it.

"But," as he remarks, "the crew of the Arawa canoe could not have given this name to it, because the Morioris of the Chatham Islands were acquainted with it, and any one who has studied the question, knows that those people left New Zealand long before the Arawa canoe arrived there, say about 1350, A. D." "It would not be strange," he says, "if these people should turn out to belong to the same wave of migration that originally peopled Hawaii and New Zealand, before the irruption into the former islands of the southern element, and before the historic immigration into New Zealand just referred to. Their use of the causative sign *Hoko* (Hawaiian *Ho'o*) instead of *whaka*, *faka*, or *fa'a*, is significant."

ON THE NAME OWHYHEE.

In regard to the name Owhyhee, which Capt. Cook applied to Hawaii, the same correspondent suggests that he might have brought it with him from Tahiti. A Tahitian, Tupaea, whom he took with him on his second voyage, drew for him a chart, exhibiting the geographical knowledge of the Tahitians at that time, besides dictating to him a list of names of islands. Among these names is *Owahei*. In an ancient Maori chant the names of *Rehia* and *Owaihi* occur, and are evidently applied to places beyond the islands from which the ancestors of the Maoris came.

As was stated in a former report, *Aihi* or *Vaihi* is the ancient Tahitian poetical name of these islands. Hence it is suggested that Capt. Cook, on hearing the name Hawaii, concluded that it was the *Owahei* of Tupaea's list, and altering it slightly, adopted Tupaea's name.

The Maori traditional name exactly represents Capt. Cook's spelling of Hawaii. For the Samon island of Savaii, Capt. Cook wrote *O Heevai*, as taken down from Tupaea's dictation, which is quite different from the old Tahitian name of the Sandwich Islands, *Vaihi* or *Aihi*. But the names Savaii and Hawaii would be identical in Tahitian, viz., *Havaii*. More than three-fourths of Tupaea's names of islands can be identified.

ON THE URIWERA PEOPLE.

Furthermore, S. Percy Smith, Esq., states that lately, on returning from the Uriwera country, he purchased five M. S. volumes of old Maori history written by a chief, who claimed it to be an honor to be descended from the *Tangata Whenua* (Kanaka Honua) or aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand, who inhabited that country before the arrival of the Hawaiki Maoris.

Mr. Elsdon Best has been making valuable collections among these primitive mountaineers. It is wonderful what interest those simple people have taken in writing down their history and traditions. They take pride in having them recorded, and are anxious to see them in print. One old fellow would never give any information on ancient matters in a house or tent where food was cooked, but insisted on Mr. Best's going with him to the hill. In this we see a relic of the old tabu about contact with food in any shape, when engaged in sacred duties.

THE STEAMER "BEAVER."

In reply to inquiries regarding the Hudson Bay Co.'s steamer "Beaver," our esteemed correspondent, Judge Swan of Port Townsend, has furnished a detailed account, which is worthy of publication.

The "Beaver" was the first steamer that ever entered the Pacific

Ocean. She was rigged as a brigantine, and came out under sail. Owing to this fact, she did not excite much interest when she arrived at Honolulu in January, 1836, on her way to Vancouver, B. C. The venerable craft was finally beached near Vancouver about three years ago, and has since been cut up into canes and snuff boxes, which have been sold as relics.

From our corresponding member, Appleton Sturgis, Esq., of New York, we learn that he has a large collection of Hawaiian curios, including four house idols, a feather necklace, besides some hundreds of clubs, paddles and carvings from the South Seas, many of which are not represented in any museum in the United States.

During the coming year we may hope to receive papers from Rev. S. Desha, Dr. H. M. Lyman, Mr. E. H. Bailey and other members.

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Corresponding Secretary.

THE LEGEND OF THE SHARK-MAN, NANAUE.

Kamohoalii, the King-shark of Hawaii and Maui, has several deep sea caves that he uses in turn as his habitat.

There are several of these at the bottom of the palisades, extending from Waipio towards Kohala, on the island of Hawaii. A favorite one was at Koamano, on the mainland, and another, at Mai-aukiu, the small islet just abreast of the Valley of Waipio. It was the belief of the ancient Hawaiians that several of these shark-gods could assume any shape they chose, the human form even, when occasion demanded.

In the reign of Umi, a beautiful girl, called Kalei, living in Waipio, was very fond of shell-fish, and frequently went to *Kuiopihi* for her favorite article of diet.

She generally went in the company of other women, but if the sea was a little rough, and her usual companion was afraid to ven-

ture out on the wild and dangerous beach, she very often went alone rather than go without her favorite sea shells.

In those days the Waipio River emptied over a low fall into a basin partly open to the sea, which is now completely filled up with rocks from some convulsion of nature, which has happened since then. In this was a deep pool, a favorite bathing place for all Waipio.

The King shark-god, Kamohoalii, used to visit this pool very often to sport in the fresh waters of the Waipio River.

Taking into account the many different tales told of the doings of this shark-god, he must have had quite an eye for human physical beauty.

Kalei, as was to be expected from a strong well formed Hawaiian girl of those days, was an expert swimmer, a good diver, and noted for the neatness and grace with which she would "*lelekawa*" (jump from the rocks into deep water) without any splashing of water, which would happen to unskillful jumpers, from the awkward attitudes they would assume in the act of jumping.

It seems Kamohoalii, the King-shark, had noted the charms of the beautiful Kalei, and his heart, or whatever answered in place of it with fishes, had been captured by them. But he couldn't expect to make much of an impression of the maiden's susceptibilities in his own formidable *propria persona*, even though he was perfectly able to take her bodily into his capacious maw, so he must needs go courting in a more pleasing way. Assuming the form of a very handsome man, he walked on the beach one rather rough morning, waiting for the girl's appearance.

Now the very wildness of the elements afforded him the chance he desired, as, though Kalei was counted among the most agile and quick of rock-fishers, that morning, when she did come, and alone, as her usual companions were deterred by the rough weather, she made several unsuccessful springs to escape a high threatening wave raised by the god himself, and apparently, if it had not been for the prompt and effective assistance rendered by the handsome stranger, she would have been swept out into the sea.

Thus an acquaintance was established. Kalei met the stranger from time to time, and finally became his wife.

Some little time before she expected to become a mother, her

husband, who all this time would only come home at night, told her his true nature, and informing her that he would have to leave her, gave orders in regard to the bringing up of the future child. He particularly cautioned the mother never to let him be fed on animal flesh of any kind, as he would be born with a dual nature, and with a body that he could change at will.

In time Kalei was delivered of a fine healthy boy, apparently the same as any other child, but he had, besides the normal mouth of a human being, a shark's mouth on his back between the shoulder blades.

Kalei had told her family of the kind of being her husband was, and they all agreed to keep the matter of the shark mouth on the child's back a secret, as there was no knowing what fears and jealousies might be excited in the minds of the king or high chiefs by such an abnormal being, and the babe might be killed.

The old grandfather, far from heeding the warning given by Kamohoalii in the matter of animal diet, as soon as the boy, who was called Nanaue was old enough to come under the tabu in regard to the eating of males, and had to take his meals at the *mua* house with the men-folks of the family, took especial pains to feed him on dog meat or pork.

He had a hope that his grandson would grow up to be a great, strong man, and become a famous warrior, and there was no knowing what possibilities lay before a strong skillful warrior in those days, so he fed the boy with meat, whenever it was obtainable. The boy thrived, grew strong, big and handsome as a young "*lama*" tree.

There was another pool with a small fall of the Waipio River very near the house of Kalei, and the boy very often went into it while his mother watched on the banks. Whenever he got into the water, he would take the form of a shark and would chase and eat the small fish which abounded in the pool. As he grew old enough to understand, his mother took especial pains to impress on him the necessity of concealing his shark nature from other people.

This place was also another favorite bathing place of the people, but Nanaue, contrary to all the habits of a genuine Hawaiian, would never go in bathing with the others, but always alone, and when

his mother was able, she used to go with him and sit on the banks, holding the kapa scarf, which he always wore to hide the shark-mouth on his back.

When he became a man his appetite for animal diet, indulged in childhood, had grown so strong, that the ordinary allowance of a human being would not suffice for him. The old grandfather had died in the meantime, so that he was dependent on the food supplied by his stepfather and uncles, and they had to expostulate with him on what they called his shark-like voracity. This gave rise to the common native nickname of a "*manohae*" (ravenous shark) for a very gluttonous man, especially in the matter of meat.

Nanaue used to spend a good deal of his time in the two pools, the one inland and the other opening into the sea. The busybodies (they had some in those days as well as now), were set to wondering why he always kept a kihei or mantle on his shoulders; and for such a handsomely shaped athletic young man, it was indeed a matter of wonder and speculation, considering the usual attire of the youth of those days. He also kept aloof from all the games and pastimes of the young people, for fear that the wind or some active movement might displace the kapa mantle, and the shark-mouth be exposed to view.

About this time children and eventually grown up people began to disappear mysteriously.

Nanaue had one good quality that seemed to redeem his apparent unsociability, he was almost always to be seen working in his mother's taro or potato patch when not fishing or bathing. People going to the sea beach would have to pass these potato or taro patches, and it was Nanaue's habit to accost them with the query of where they were going. If they answered "to bathe in the sea," or for "fishing," he would answer, "take care or you may disappear head and tail." Whenever he so accosted any one it would not be long before some member of the party so addressed would be bitten by a shark.

If it should be a man or woman going to the beach alone, that person would never be seen again, as the shark-man would immediately follow, and watching for a favorable opportunity, jump into the sea. Having previously marked the whereabouts of the person he was after, it was an easy thing for him to approach quite close,

and changing into a shark, rush on the unsuspecting person and drag him or her down into the deep, where he would devour his victim at his leisure.

This was the danger to humanity which his king-father foresaw when he cautioned the mother of the unborn child about feeding him on animal flesh, as thereby an appetite would be evoked which they had no means of satisfying, and a human being would furnish the most handy meal of the kind that he would desire.

Nanaue had been a man grown some time, when an order was promulgated by Umi, King of Hawaii, for every man dwelling in Waipio to go to *Koele* work, tilling a large plantation for the King. There were to be certain days in an "*anahulu*" (ten days) to be set aside for this work when every man, woman or child had to go and render service, excepting the very old and decrepit and children in arms.

The first day every one went but Nanaue. He kept on working in his mother's vegetable garden to the astonishment of all who saw him. This was reported to the King, and several stalwart men were sent after him. When brought before the King he still wore his kapa kihei, or mantle.

The King asked him why he was not doing *Koele* work with every one else. Nanaue answered he did not know it was required of him. Umi could not help admiring the bold, free bearing of the handsome man, and noting his splendid physique, thought he would make a good warrior, greatly wanted in those ages, and more especially in the reign of Umi, and simply ordered him to go to work.

Nanaue obeyed, and took his place in the field with the others, and proved himself a good worker, but still kept on his kihei, which it would be natural to suppose that he would lay aside as an incumbrance when engaged in hard labor.

At last some of the more venturesome of the younger folks managed to tear his kapa off, as if accidentally, when the shark-mouth on his back was seen by all the people near.

Nanaue was so enraged at the displacement of his kapa and his consequent exposure, that he turned and bit several of the crowd, while the shark-mouth opened and shut with a snap, and a click-

ing sound was heard such as a shark is supposed to make when baulked by its prey.

The news of the shark-mouth and his characteristic shark-like actions were quickly reported to the King, with the fact of the disappearance of so many people in the vicinity of the pools frequented by Nanaue; and of his pretended warnings to people going to the sea, which were immediately followed by a shark bite or by their being eaten bodily, with every one's surmise and belief that this man was at the bottom of all those disappearances.

The King believed it was even so, and ordered a large fire to be lighted, and Nanaue to be thrown in to be burnt alive.

When Nanaue saw what was before him, he called on the shark-god, his father, to help him, when, seeming to be endowed with superhuman strength in answer to his prayer, he burst the ropes with which he had been bound in preparation for the burning, and breaking through the throng of Umi's warriors, who attempted to detain him, he ran, followed by the whole multitude, towards the pool that emptied into the sea. When he got to the edge of the rocks bordering the pool, he waited till the foremost persons were within arms' length, when he leaped into the water and immediately turned into a large shark on the surface of the water, in plain view of the people who had arrived, and whose numbers were being continually augmented by more and more arrivals.

He lay on the surface some little time, as if to recover his breath, and then turned over on his back, and raising his head partly out of the water, snapped his teeth at the crowd who, by this time, completely lined the banks, and then, as if in derision or defiance of them, turned and flitted his tail at them and swam out to sea.

The people and chiefs were for killing his mother and relatives for having brought up such a monster. Kalei and her brothers were seized, bound and dragged before Umi, while the people clamored for their immediate execution, or as some suggested, that they be thrown into the fire lighted for Nanaue.

But Umi was a wise King and would not consent to any such summary proceedings, but questioned Kalei in regard to her fearful offspring. The grieved and frightened mother told everything in connection with the paternity and bringing up of the child and with the warning given by the dread sea-father.

Umi considered that the great sea-god, Kamohoalii, was on the whole a beneficent as well as a powerful one.

Should the relatives and mother of that shark-god's son be killed, there would then be no possible means of checking the ravages of that son who might linger around the coast and creeks of the island, taking on human shape at will, for the purpose of traveling inland to any place he liked, and then reassume his fish form and lay in wait in the many deep pools formed by the streams and springs.

Umi, therefore, ordered Kalei and her relatives to be set at liberty, while the priests and shark *kahunas* were requested to make offerings and invocations to Kamohoalii that his spirit might take possession of one of his "*hakas*" (medium devoted to his cult), and so express to humanity his desires in regard to his bad son, who had presumed to eat human beings, a practice well known to be contrary to Kamohoalii's desires.

This was done, whereupon the shark-god manifested himself through a "*haka*," and expressed his grief at the action of his wayward son. He told them that the grandfather was to blame for feeding him on animal flesh contrary to his orders, and if it were not for that extenuating circumstance, he would order him to be killed by his own shark officers, but as it was, he would require of him that he should disappear forever from the shores of Hawaii. Should Nanaue disregard that order and be seen by any of his fathers' shark soldiers, he was to be instantly killed.

Then the shark-god, who it seems retained an affection for his human wife, exacted a promise that she and her relatives were to be forever free from any persecutions on account of her unnatural son, on pain of the return and freedom from the tabu of said son.

Accordingly Nanaue left the island of Hawaii, crossed over to Maui, and landing at Kipahulu resumed his human shape and went inland. He was seen by the people, and when questioned, told them he was a traveller from Hawaii, who had landed at Hana and was going around sightseeing.

He was so good looking, pleasant and beguiling in his conversation that people generally liked him.

He was taken as *Aikane* by one of the petty chiefs of the place, who gave his own sister for wife to Nanaue.

The latter made a stipulation that his sleeping house should be separated from that of his wife, on account of a pretended vow, but really in order that his peculiar second mouth might escape detection.

For a while the charms of the pretty girl who had become his wife, seem to have been sufficient to prevent him from trying to eat human beings, but after a while, when the novelty of his position as a husband had worn off, and the desire for human flesh had again become very strong, he resumed the old practice for which he had been driven away from Hawaii.

He was eventually detected in the very act of pushing a girl into the sea, jumping in after her, then turning into a shark, and commencing to devour her, to the horror of some people who were fishing with hook and rod from some rocks where he had not observed them.

These people raised the alarm, and Nanaue seeing that he was discovered, left for Molokai where he was not known.

He took up his residence on Molokai at Poniuohua, adjoining the *Ahupuaa* of Kainalu, and it was not very long before he was at his old practice of observing and accosting people, giving them his peculiar warning, then following them into the sea in his human shape, then seizing one of them as a shark and pulling the unfortunate one to the bottom, where he would devour his victim. In the excitement of such an occurrence, people would fail to notice his absence until he would reappear at some distant point far away from the throng, as if engaged in shrimping, crabbing, etc.

This went on for some time, till the frightened and harassed people in desperation, went to consult a shark *kahuna*, as the ravages of the man-eating shark had put a practical tabu on all kinds of fishing. It was not safe to be anywhere near the sea, even in the shallowest water.

The *kahuna* told them to lie in wait for Nanaue, and the next time he prophesied that a person would be "eaten head and tail," a favorite expression of his, to have some strong men seize him and pull off his *kapa* mantle, when a shark mouth would be found on his back. This was done, and the mouth seen, but the shark-man was so strong, when they seized him and attempted to bind him, that he broke through them several times. He was

finally overpowered near the seashore and tightly bound. All the people then turned their attention to gathering brush and firewood to burn him, for it was well known that it is only by being totally consumed by fire that a man-shark can be thoroughly destroyed, and prevented from taking possession of the body of some harmless fish shark, who would then be incited to do all the pernicious acts of a shark-man.

While he lay there on the low sandy beach, the tide was coming in, and as most of the people were returning with fagots, etc., Nanaue made a supreme effort and rolled over so that his feet touched the water, when he was enabled at once to change into a monster shark. Those who were near him saw it, but were not disposed to let him off so easily, and they ran several rows of netting *makai*, the water being very shallow for quite a distance out.

The shark's flippers were all bound by the ropes with which the man Nanaue had been bound, and this with the shallowness of the water prevented him from exerting his great strength to advantage. He did succeed in struggling to the breakers, though momentarily growing weaker from loss of blood, as the people were striking at him with clubs, spears, stone adzes, anything that would hurt or wound, so as to prevent his escape.

With all that, he would have got clear, if the people had not called to their aid the demi-god Unauna, who lived in the mountains of upper Kainalu. It was then a case of Akua vs. Akua, but Unauna was only a young demi-god, and not supposed to have acquired his full strength and supernatural powers, while Nanaue was a full grown man and shark. If it had not been for the latter's being hampered by the cords with which he was bound, the nets in his way, as well as the loss of blood, it is fully believed that he would have got the better of the young local presiding deity, but he was finally conquered and hauled up on the hill slopes of Kainalu to be burnt. The shallow ravine left by the passage of his immense body over the light yielding soil of the Kainalu hill slope, can be seen to this day, as also a ring or deep groove completely around the top of a tall insulated rock very near the top of Kainalu hill, around which Unauna had thrown the rope, to assist him in hauling the big shark up hill. The place was ever afterwards called Puumano (Shark Hill), and is so known to this day.

In attempting to burn Nanaue, he was so large, that the blood and water oozing out of his burning body put out the fire several times. Not to be outwitted in that way by the shark son of Kamohoalii, Unauna ordered the people to cut and bring for the purpose of splitting into knives, bamboos from the sacred grove of Kainalu. The shark flesh was then cut into strips, partly dried, and then burnt, but the whole bamboo grove had to be used up before the big shark was all cut up. The God Mohoalii, (another form of the same God Kamohoalii) father of Unauna, was so angered by the desecration of the grove, or more likely on account of the use to which it was put, that he took away all the edge and sharpness from the bamboos of this grove forever, and to this day they are different from the bamboos of any other place or grove on the islands in this particular, that a piece of them cannot cut any more than any piece of common wood.

MRS. EMMA M. NAKUINA.

NOTE. This story was obtained from Kamakau, a woman of Waipio, now over ninety years old. She was born at the time of the building of Kiholo. Details of the latter part on Molokai were obtained from D. Napela, who was born and lived all his life time in the vicinity of the scene of the story. He died about five years ago. I should say he was past seventy at the time of his death. He was quite an intelligent old man, and had been the government school teacher at Waialua, Molokai.

E. M. N.

ON AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER, BY JEAN B. RIVES.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1894 I purchased of a firm in Paris an undoubted autograph letter by Jean B. Rives, a native of Bordeaux, France, and for a time a favorite of Liholiho or Kamehameha II. who was destined to exert an important influence on the history of these Islands.

This letter exhibits him in the character of a promoter of a joint-stock company formed in France to exploit the resources of this

country, and his object in writing it seems to have been to obtain a large sum of ready money on the strength of his shares of stock, which shares were based upon the landed property which he claimed in Oahu.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into detail in regard to his character and career in Hawaii previous to his return to Europe. His countrymen, Capt. de Freycinet and M. Arago of the discovery ship "Uranie," have a good deal to say of him in their published accounts of their visit to Hawaii in 1819, which may be found in the library of the Historical Society, and which are referred to in his letter.

The best explanation of the following letter of M. Rives, which is now presented to this Society, is to be found in a narrative by Capt. Duhaut-Cilly of the ship "Le Heros," in which they made a voyage together to the western coast of America in 1826-7.

The following is a translation of the greater part of the introduction to Capt. Duhaut-Cilly's book.

"In 1824, the King of the Sandwich Islands, Rio-Rio, moved by curiosity, and perhaps also by some idea of profit, went to England on board of a whaleship which had recruited in one of his islands. He was accompanied by his wife, his Ministers Karaimoku and Boki, and by a Frenchman named Rives, who served him as interpreter and secretary.

"On arriving at London, he became there an object of curiosity and of ridicule. * * * * *

"Rio-Rio and his wife were attacked by small-pox, and succumbed to the disease. The King's attendants and the embalmed bodies of the King and Queen were sent back to the Sandwich Islands on board of H. B. M.'s frigate "Blonde," and a consul was accredited there with the title of Consul-General of all the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

"M. Rives, having remained at London, sought to take advantage of his position to further his private interest, and spread the

NOTE. Some errors in the above account should be noticed. Karaimoku did not accompany his sovereign to London, but remained in Hawaii as prime minister under Kaahumanu, the Queen-Regent. The disease of which Kamehameha II. and his wife died was not small-pox but measles.

report that before his death, King Rio-Rio had conferred on him the power to conclude in his name and in that of his successor, an exclusive commercial treaty with any government or any company which would undertake this business; but although there could not have been a more favorable time for it, since at that period a great number of enterprises of this kind were formed in London, and upon base much more ridiculous, he could not succeed in gaining any advantage from his manoeuvres.

"Frustrated in his hopes, he came to Paris, where he had relatives, and there began again to talk about his powers and the brilliant advantages which might be derived from an expedition to the Sandwich Islands, to the coast of California and to the north-west coast of America.

"A ship-owner, without credit and without consideration, at first entered upon this business, but as he had to apply to other persons in order to obtain the necessary funds, and as it was not desired that his name should figure among honorable names, this hard condition having disgusted him, he finally withdrew and took no further part in it.

"The expedition of which I am about to speak, was undertaken by the bankers Laval, Martin Lafitte of Havre, and Jacques Lafitte, who was induced by his love for the public good rather than by the desire to augment his immense fortune, to furnish his capital, in the hope of opening a new branch of industry and a new outlet for French commerce.

"A treaty in which M. Rives granted in the name of the government of the Sandwich Islands immense advantages to the stockholders, was signed at Paris towards the end of 1825. He promised among other things, large profits upon the goods which might be shipped, the developement of the resources of extensive lands, which he said he possessed in those islands, the monopoly of the sandal-wood, which was their principal wealth, and many other dazzling inducements.

"Without giving entire credence to these brilliant prospects, they thought nevertheless that they saw a possibility of success in forming with that archipelago relations which might become of great importance for our commerce in general, but hardly had they begun to put this project into execution when a deeper

knowledge of M. Rives' character made them fear that they had confided too easily in a man whose talk showed more each day an imprudence and a lack of means, which he has only too well proved by the sequel.

"However, not wishing to fail engagements already entered into, the leaders of the expedition continued to act, but they resolved to withdraw from him the management of this operation, and it was then that they proposed to me to undertake it, as well as the command of the ship which they intended for it.

"Flattered by this mark of confidence, and besides naturally inclined to adventurous enterprises, I shut my eyes to whatever painful there might be in so long an absence, and did not hesitate to bind myself with irrevocable engagements. My instructions constituted me agent with power of attorney for all the stockholders; I was to require that M. Rives should fulfill punctually all the clauses of his contract; I was to watch over his actions, and in a word, he was to be accountable to me for all his affairs, who had the right to withdraw from him, if necessary, all co-operation.

"I returned to Bordeaux, where I purchased a fine ship of 370 tons, which received the name of "Le Heros," and which I brought to Havre, in order to complete her equipment, and to receive the cargo. The Minister of Marine, who had appeared to take a certain interest in this expedition, had promised to furnish me some instruments suitable to render it useful to the progress of navigation; but I demanded in vain the execution of this promise, and I departed without obtaining any thing except a special passport and a collection of marine charts, which I gave back on my return."

The following letter of M. Rives was probably addressed to one of the members of the banking firm mentioned above.

A TRANSLATION OF JEAN B. RIVES' LETTER.

PARIS, March 22, 1825.

SIR:—

I have given the greatest attention to the reading of your letter of the 17th and 18th of this month. Mr. Morice replies to the greater part of the details into which you enter, some of which

are not worthy to fix your attention for an instant. As for me I shall confine myself to informing you definitely what are my intentions in regard to the new propositions which you have made. You will permit me to repeat to you that the article of the 7,500 francs in exchange for 30 shares was an object which in no state of the negotiation could concern anybody but you and me; and yet you efface it without telling me anything which could give rise to the remotest idea that the annulling of this condition could contribute anything to the success of the business, or could interest directly or indirectly the directors or the stockholders. However, being convinced of the necessity of concluding as soon as possible in order to be able to insure to the company by my prompt departure, all the advantages which my presence must assure to it in the Sandwich Islands, on the north-west coast, on the California coast, etc., I consent to regard as null and void the engagement which you have made with me in this respect, but on condition that either (1), by causing to be paid you 2,000 £ sterling of the surplus of the 12,000, which the company is expected to give me for my domain, for the privileges which I will cause to be obtained, for my services, etc., for these 2,000 £ sterling to be added to the two which are promised me according to your arrangements; or (2), in the case of absolute impossibility of causing these 2,000 £ to be granted me, by procuring them for me in one way or another, by giving up 25 shares (out of those which are to come to me), if they are at 100 £ each, or 50 shares, if they are only 50 £.

I have not concealed from you, sir, that this sum of 10,000 francs was indispensable to me for the accomplishment of some projects which I have formed here, and which it is not in my power to renounce. I hope that this consideration will suffice, to make you understand that I must hold absolutely to this that the sum in question be remitted to me at the conclusion of the treaty.

In regard to the 25,000 francs, which were to return to my cousin out of the 75,000 francs replaced by the 50,000 francs which I ask in consideration of the cession of the 25 shares at 100 £ or of 50 shares at 50 £ and the 25,000 other francs, which were to be equally remitted to him in exchange for 30 original shares, he renounces it also without exacting anything in return, because he

feels like me that in the interest of the company, it is of the highest importance that my departure should not be much longer delayed by discussions so evidently injurious to the general interest. However, I would be pleased, and I would be obliged to you in the occasion, if you could find the means of letting him have those 50,000 francs, or at least, half of them in consideration of an equal number of secondary shares.

I hope that the observations which Mr. Morice made to you in the letter of this date, and what I have just had the honor to say to you, will enable you to surmount easily all the difficulties.

In that case I see nothing more which prevents you from proceeding without delay to the drawing up of the treaty which I am to sign, or you in my name, and in which you will be able to insert all the clauses already agreed upon between us, and which are recorded in one of the documents which you have taken away.

If I could foresee that they would not ask of me any other stipulation, I would authorize you with pleasure, from this moment, and without any reserve, to sign the treaty drawn up on these bases, but it is possible that they may wish to join to the first clauses other clauses which I do not know of, and you are too wise and too much experienced in business, not to approve of my prudence in asking you to let me know beforehand all that I will have to engage myself to. This is not, be assured, because my confidence in your equity and your abilities is not very great; but once more, I do not believe that I ought to consent blindly to things which I am ignorant of, and to conditions which it might not be in my power to fulfill. I cannot close this letter without telling you, sir, how much I have been afflicted to see that you have taken amiss the observations contained in one of the letters of Mr. Morice. Surely I am and always will be very far from thinking that you have not the most honorable principles.

But in my place you would have been, without any doubt, as surprised as I on seeing in one of your letters that you positively demanded not to let me share at all in all that you could obtain above the fourth of the profits; for you have made use of these same expressions, at which all these gentlemen have been not less astonished than I. I am rejoiced that you told us that such has never been your intention.

As you ask in your letter of the 10th, I bind myself formally to give up to you the half of the 4,000 £ sterling, which are destined to me out of the 12,000 £ to pay for my domain, etc.; more, the half of the fourth of the profits to which I will have a right, and finally the half of all that you will be able to cause to be granted to me over and above the fourth. If you wish that this engagement be under another form, command me; I will send it to you without delay with the letter to Messrs. the Directors, which we have not been able to have drawn up yet according to your intentions by Mr. Segris, absent from Paris several days, and in which besides it will be necessary to make a modification, if you obtain, as I flatter myself, 2,000 £ sterling more to my profit out of the 12,000. I have seen in your last letter what were your intentions, I hope to prove upon occasion that I am animated with the same sentiment. I engage you to exert all your efforts to conclude as promptly as possible, and I pray you to accept the assurance of my affectionate sentiments and of my perfect consideration.

J. B. RIVES,

Secretary of the Sandwich Islands.

P. S. I would have been well pleased to say some words to you myself about the accounts of cession of territory by the King of the Isles to England, upon the good information furnished me by the aide-de-camp of the Duke of York, and upon the light which M. Arago may have shed in his work on the subject of the Islands, their inhabitants, and of me in particular; but besides that Mr. Morice converses with you about it enough to make you see the value which ought to be attached to these absurdities.

I regard it (and you must believe that I have reason), useless to repel the one, and as beneath me to reply to the others.

Inculcate that well in the mind of your gentlemen, and besides when we shall see each other, it will be very easy for me to efface from yours the impression which this malicious nonsense may have made on it.

INCIDENTS OF THE VOYAGE OF THE "HEROS."

The "Heros" sailed from Havre on the 10th of April, 1826. On arriving at San Lucas in Lower California, they met the brig "Waverly," Capt. Sumner, from Honolulu, engaged in the hunting of seals. Here, as Capt. Duhaut-Cilly relates:

"The news which he (Capt. Sumner) gave us from the Sandwich Islands was not flattering to the success of our operation. Our expedition was known there, and M. Rives, far from being looked for as a friend, was on the contrary accused, if not of contributing to the death of King Rio-Rio in England, at least of not having watched with due care over his life.

"I even heard Capt. Sumner tell him in English, that if he valued his life, he ought to give up any project of going to the Sandwich Islands. I had besides a conversation with the officers of the brig, which confirmed the report of their captain, and which made me doubt not only the existing credit of M. Rives in those islands, but also that which he claimed to have enjoyed before accompanying the King to London; although he endeavored in vain to persuade me that Sumner, who disliked him, only circulated this report in order to discourage him and to deter him from returning to that archipelago where he dreaded his influence. My faith in his statements had already received more than one shock, and this last discovery shook it to its foundations." * * * *

Later on Capt. Duhaut-Cilly draws a rather unflattering portrait of his supercargo, whom he evidently disliked. On the 29th of March, 1827, they anchored at Santa Barbara, California, where he and M. Rives landed and made a call on the commandante, Don Jose Noriega. On this occasion they met a couple of young ladies, whereupon as the captain relates:

"I saw one of these young damsels smiling at us in a manner almost imperceptible; perhaps I myself excited her malicious gayety; however, the grotesque mien of my companion, his teeth blackened by the immoderate use of tobacco, and his monkey's head, placed upon a slender body of four feet eight inches, all this *ensemble* ought to tranquilize my *amour propre*."

It seems that Capt. Duhaut-Cilly was not aware that in November, 1826, the ship "Comete," Capt. Plassard, had sailed from

Bordeaux with an assorted cargo of goods and church ornaments, which were to be paid for by M. Rives on their arrival at Honolulu, and also with the first Catholic Missionaries to these islands as passengers. On arriving at Monterey, he states:

"We were not a little surprised to see the French flag floating over a ship which lay at anchor. It was the "Comete," of Bordeaux, which had come last from the Sandwich Islands. I shall not enter into any detail about this strange expedition; I will only say that M. Rives had been the instigator of it, and that it had been set on foot by the chief of a bureau under the Minister of the Interior, who had all our secrets, and who had abused our confidence in this manner. This operation plainly shows the inconsequence and the bad faith of M. Rives, and if it had succeeded, it would have completely overturned that of the "Heros." * * *

"We left this ship (the "Comete"), in the roadstead, in the greatest embarrassment, the captain absolutely not knowing what to do with his cargo. * * * *

"Besides the articles which could be sold in California during the trip which I was about to make, I had agreed with M. Rives that if we could freight a suitable vessel, he should proceed to the north-west coast with all those goods that were intended for that trade, and that we should sell them in the Russian establishment of Sitka. We acted on this resolution, and having settled our business in Monterey, we headed for Santa Barbara, where we arrived September 13, 1827. There we met a schooner under the Sandwich Island flag, commanded by an American. We proposed to the supercargo of this vessel to let us charter it for the proposed trip to the north-west coast, and after the lapse of a few days the business was settled, and it was decided that the "Waverley" should come to rejoin us at San Diego, in order that M. Rives should embark in it.

It was agreed with M. Rives that during my absence, which might be from five to six months, he should return to Monterey with the "Waverley," that he should load on board of that schooner the goods which he should deem suitable, and that he should at once betake himself to the American establishment on the Columbian River, and that if he should not succeed in disposing of all his cargo there, he should go from there to the Russian colony of

Sitka, in Norfolk Sound, where we hoped that he would advantageously trade off the remainder, in exchange for seal and sea otter skins. He was then to return to Monterey, where we would meet on my return from Peru. All being thus arranged, I set sail on the 20th of October, 1827, for Lima, leaving the "Waverley" ready to sail the next day for Monterey." * * *

The next summer Capt. Duhaut-Cilly returned from the South, expecting to meet his assistant, but as he says:

"On my arrival at Monterey, I expected to find M. Rives returned from the north-west coast. Not only was this hope disappointed, but I learned on the contrary that instead of undertaking this voyage as he had engaged to do, he had changed his destination, and had gone to the coast of Mexico with the "Waverley" and her cargo." * * *

"I then changed my plan, and to employ the ship, I decided to take on board for the Sandwich Islands, as many horses as the number of water casks which I could procure, would permit. I was told that these animals always sold well there, and their feed cost me but little." * * *

Again in August, 1828, he writes as follows:

"I could not wait any longer for M. Rives, and still less go in search of him at that season of the year. I had made up my mind on this point, when the "Waverley" appeared. Contrary to expectation, M. Rives was not on board. I learned by the captain's report, and by the letters which he himself addressed to me, all that had occurred since his departure from Monterey. My apprehensions were verified. All the property which he had taken away was dilapidated and dissipated in consequence of his imprudent conduct and his incapacity."

Capt. Duhaut-Cilly took as passengers to the Islands the captain and crew of the British ship "Teignmouth" from Calcutta, which had been wrecked in the Bay of San José del Cabo. He sold his horses in Honolulu for high prices, ranging from \$65 to \$110 apiece. In November, 1828, we find him ready to sail from Honolulu, for Canton, China. I quote again:

"I was not willing to leave Anaroura (Honolulu) without being certain (*fixe*) in regard to the pretended powers which M. Rives had arrogated to himself, and for my responsibility, I requested

the English and American Consuls to be present at the explanation which I wished to have with the Regent, Boki, of whom I asked a conference on the subject. A Spaniard, named *Marini*, who had resided in the country a number of years, was also present as interpreter of the Government.

"It would be useless to report all that I learned at this meeting; it will be sufficient to know that M. Rives while acting in the name of this Government, had played the part of a swindler (*chevalier d'industrie*), and of an intriguer. I caused written proofs of his bad faith to be delivered to me, signed by the Regent, the Consuls of England and of the United States, and by the interpreter."

I express no opinion on the above, but give it for what it is worth. Probably there are documents on record at Havre, which would throw additional light on the subject. In regard to Mr. Rives' later career, Mr. R. C. Wyllie, in his report to the Legislature of 1851, on page 232, stated as follows:

"As M. Bachelot anticipated, M. Rives never returned to the Islands. Shortly after the ship "Comet" arrived, he made his appearance in Mazatlan, and attempted to land some blankets, which were confiscated. A claim in behalf of his heirs against the Mexican Government was preferred by the Baron de Deffaudis, for that and other things, on the 7th of November, 1836, for \$22,654. M. Rives himself had died in Mexico of cholera, on the 18th of August, 1833."

Submitted to the Historical Society by

W. D. ALEXANDER.

THE LAST HOURS OF LIHOLIHO AND KAMAMALU.

COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO H. R. H. PRINCESS LILIUOKALANI, PRESENTED TO THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY THE AUTHOR, THEO. H. DAVIES, ESQ.

“THE ALBANY, LIVERPOOL,

“July 26, 1889.

“MY DEAR MADAM :

“I have at least succeeded in getting a clue to the information you wanted with regard to the circumstances attending the death of the King and Queen in London, in 1824. I have made several attempts without success, and I am very glad to be able at last to send you some reliable intelligence.

“The “Eagle” arrived at Portsmouth in May, and the King and Queen with their suite arrived at Osborne’s Caledonian Hotel, Adelphi, London, on the 18th. This was then a very fashionable hotel, and is still a first-class hotel, known as the “Caledonian,” and overlooking the Thames Embankment near Charing Cross. On Friday, May 28th, Mr. Secretary Canning gave a grand entertainment at Gloucester Lodge to more than two hundred persons of the highest rank to meet the Hawaiian sovereigns, who arrived about 11 o’clock, attended by their suite and the Hon. Mr. Byng.

“They were received by Mr. Canning, and presented to the brother of King George IV., the Duke of Gloucester, who, with the Duchess, Prince Leopold, the Duke of Wellington, etc., attended the entertainment. On the 31st, the King and Queen occupied the Royal Box at Covent Garden Theatre, and were received at the King’s door by Mr. Kemble and Mr. Fawcett. The King bowed several times before taking his seat, and remained standing whilst “God Save the King” was played. The play was “Pizarro,” the Queen shed tears repeatedly at some of the scenes. They were loudly cheered by the people both within and without the theatre when they retired.

"On Friday, June 4th, it was announced that by command of King George, the Royal Box at Drury Lane would be prepared for the Hawaiian King and Queen, and Mr. Macready would appear in "Rob Roy."

"Next day they visited the Royal Military Asylum, with which they were much delighted, and on the 11th they witnessed a balloon ascent at White Conduit Gardens.

"On Monday, June 21st, the "Times" announced that the King and Queen were to be shortly introduced to His Majesty, but on the 19th it was announced that the King and Queen were laid up with the measles. On the 8th of July the Queen died at half-past six in the evening from inflammation of the lungs. The King took his farewell, which was most affecting, at ten in the morning. The physicians were Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Ley, Dr. Holland and Mr. Peregrine, who issued an official statement of the death, adding: 'The King, in the midst of this deep sorrow, manifests a firmness of mind which has penetrated everybody about him with a feeling of respect. We have every reason to believe that His Majesty's anxiety and depression have aggravated all the symptoms of his disease, which, but for this cause, might now have terminated prosperously.'

"On Saturday, the 10th, the body of the Queen lay in State at the Hotel, the coffin being covered by a black satin pall and her State feather cloak of crimson and yellow. At five o'clock Monday morning the coffin was removed in a hearse drawn by six horses to St. Martin's Church (close to the National Gallery), and deposited in a vault underneath the church. The King of England had daily reports sent to him of the health of Liholiho, and Mr. Canning called on Sunday, July 11th, and the King insisted on seeing him. Mr. Canning expressed his concern, and hoped he would not suffer his feelings to aggravate his illness. The King said he was most gratefully sensible of the kindness and attention he had received, and that he would strive to endure the trial with fortitude. On the following Wednesday the King died at four in the morning. During the night he had become much worse, and Dr. Ley was sent for, and the King seizing his hand said in Hawaiian: 'I am dying, I know I am dying.' At 2 o'clock he became alarmingly worse, and seemed to know no one. He kept

saying 'I shall lose my tongue,' and just before he died he said faintly: 'Farewell to you all—I am dead, I am happy'

"Sir Matthew Tierney arrived at the hotel at half-past one, and saw the body, and stated that death was caused by a large abscess on the lungs. Sir Henry Halford having to leave London, Sir Matthew Tierney had taken his place.

"On Saturday, July 17th, the remains lay in State in a large apartment on the ground floor of the hotel, the central part of the room was divided from the rest by a frame-work 14 feet square, open on three sides, the floor being covered with small feather cloaks. Around the frame-work were placed very large cloaks, and a number of capes and helmets. The large royal cloak was at the head of the coffin.

"On Sunday, July 18th, at 5 o'clock, a hearse and six horses conveyed the coffin to St. Martin's Church, and it was deposited beside the coffin of the Queen.

"On Sept. 1st, at one in the morning, it was reported that three men attempted to break into the church to steal the King's body, for which it was said 200 £ had been offered, but every avenue to the church was strictly guarded and the men made off. On Tuesday night, 7th, at 10 o'clock, two hearses, followed by two mourning coaches with the suite, conveyed the remains from St. Martin's Church to the London Dock, where they were embarked on board the Frigate 'Blonde' for conveyance to Honolulu.

"On the following Saturday, Sept. 12th, King George IV. received the suite at Windsor Castle, and on Wednesday, Sept. 30th, the "Blonde" sailed for Honolulu.

"I have had to pick this out of a lot of information I had found, but I thought this would be what you wanted, and I could not very well leave it to some one else to write. I think you will find it very interesting.

"If I can be of any use it will always give me great pleasure to place my services at your disposal.

* * * * *

"I am, Madam, very faithfully yours,

"(Signed)

THEO. H. DAVIES.

"H. R. H. Princess Liliuokalani."

A COPY OF A LETTER BY M. JEAN B. RIVES.

MONSIEUR:—

J'ai porté la plus grande attention à la lecture de vos lettres du 17 et du 18 de ce mois. Mr. Morice répond à la plupart des détails dans lesquels vous entrez et dont quelques-unes ne méritaient pas de fixer un instant votre attention. Quant à moi, je me borne-
rai à vous faire connaître quelles soient définitivement mes intentions sur les nouvelles propositions que vous avez faites. Vous permettrez que je vous répète que l'article des 75,000 francs contre 30 actions était un objet qui, dans aucun état de la négociation, ne pouvait concerner que vous et moi; et cependant vous l'effacez sans me rien dire qui puisse faire naître l'idée la plus éloignée que l'annulation de cette condition puisse en rien contribuer au succès en rien contribuer au succès de l'affaire, ou intéresser directement ou indirectement ni les directeurs ni les actionnaires. Toutefois, convaincu de la nécessité de conclure le plus tôt possible, afin de pouvoir assurer, par mon prompt départ, à la société tous les avantages que ma présence doit lui assurer aux Isles Sandwich, à la côte N. O. à la côte de Californie, etc., je consens à regarder comme non-avenue l'engagement que vous aviez pris avec moi à cet égard, mais à condition que, soit en vous faisant accorder, 2,000 livres sterl. du plus sur les 12,000 que la société est censée me donner pour mon domaine, les privilèges que je ferai obtenir, mes soins, etc., pour ces 2,000 L. st., être ajoutés aux deux qui me sont promises d'après vos arrangements; soit, dans le cas d'impossibilité absolue de me faire concéder ces 2,000 l. st., en me les procurant, d'une manière ou d'autre, moyennant abandon de 25 actions, (à prendre sur celles qui doivent me venir), si elles sont de 100 li. st. chacune, ou de 50 actions si elles ne sont que de 50 livres. Je ne vous ai point dissimulé, monsieur, que cette somme de 100,000 fs. m'était indispensable pour l'accomplissement de quelques projets que j'ai formés ici, et auxquels il n'est pas en mon pouvoir de renoncer. J'espère que cette considération suffira pour vous faire comprendre que je dois tenir absolument à ce que la somme en question me soit remise à la conclusion du traité.

A l'égard des 25,000 francs qui devaient revenir à mon cousin

sur les 75,000 francs remplacés par les 50,000 francs que je demande moyennant cession des 25 actions à 100 livres ou de 50 à 50 livres, et des 25 autres mille francs qui devaient lui être également remise contre 30 actions primitives, il y renonce aussi sans rien exiger en retour, parcequ'il sent comme moi que dans l'intérêt de la société, il est de la plus haute importance que mon départ ne soit pas plus long-tems différé par des discussions si évidemment nuisibles à l'intérêt général. Cependant, je serais bien aise, et je vous en saurais gré dans l'occasion, si vous pouviez trouver le moyen de lui faire avoir ces 50,000 francs, ou au moins la moitié, contre un nombre équivalent d'actions secondaires.

J'espère que les observations que vous fait M. Morice dans la lettre de ce jour, et ce que je viens d'avoir l'honneur de vous dire, vous mettront à même de lever facilement toutes les difficultés.

Dans ce cas, je ne vois plus rien que vous empêche de procéder sans retard à la rédaction du traité que je dois signer ou vous en mon nom, et dans lequel vous pourrez insérer toutes les clauses déjà convenus entre nous et qui sont consignées dans une des pièces que vous avez emportées. Si je pouvais prévoir qu'on ne demandât pas d'autre stipulation, je vous autoriserais avec plaisir, dès ce moment, et sans réserve, à signer le traité rédigé sur ces bases; mais il est possible qu'on veuille joindre aux premières clauses d'autres clauses que j'ignore, et vous êtes trop sage et trop habitué aux affaires pour que n'approuviez pas ma prudence en vous demandant de connaître auparavant tout ce à quoi il faudra que je m'engage. Ce n'est pas, soyez en assuré, que ma confiance en votre équité et vos lumières ne soit très grande; mais encore une fois, je ne crois pas devoir consentir aveuglement à des choses que j'ignore et à des conditions qu'il pourrait ne pas être en mon pouvoir d'accomplir.

Je ne puis finir cette lettre sans vous dire, monsieur, combien j'ai été affligé de voir que vous aviez pris en mauvaise part les observations contenues dans une des lettres de M. Morice; assurément je suis et serai toujours très éloigné de penser que vous n'ayez pas les principes les plus honorables. Mais à ma place vous auriez été, sans aucun doute, aussi surpris que moi en voyant dans une de vos lettres que vous demandiez positivement à ne me

faire participer en rien à tout ce que vous pourriez obtenir au dessus du quart des bénéfices; car vous vous êtes servi de ces mêmes expressions dont tous ces messieurs n'ont pas été moins étonnés que moi. Je suis charmé que vous nous disiez que telle n'a jamais été votre intention.

Ainsi que vous le demandez dans votre lettre du 10, je m'oblige formellement envers vous abandonner la moitié des 4,000 liv. st. qui me sont destinées sur les 12,000 à payer pour mon domaine, etc.; (Sans prejudice des deux mille livres sterling, qui je vous demande plus haut de me procurer, soit en obtenant 2,000 liv. de plus sur les 12,000, soit moyennant abandon d'actions à prendre sur celles qui me viendront); plus la moitié du quart des bénéfices auquel j'aurai droit, et en fin la moitié de tout ce que vous pourrez me faire accorder en sus du quart. Si vous voulez que cet engagement soit sous une autre forme,—mandez-le moi; je vous l'enverrai sans délai avec la lettre a M. M. les Directeurs que nous n'avons pu faire rédiger encore suivant vos intentions par M. Segris, absent de Paris depuis quelques jours, et à laquelle d'ailleurs il sera nécessaire de faire une modification, si vous obtenez, comme je m'en flatte, 2,000 l. st. de plus à mon profit sur les 12,000. J'ai vu dans votre dernière lettre quelles étaient vos intentions genereuses, j'espère prouver dans occasion que je suis animé du même sentiment.

Je vous engage à faire tous vos efforts pour conclure le plus promptement possible, et je vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de mes sentimens affectueux et de ma parfaite considération.

J. B. RIVES,

Secr. des Isles de Sandwich.

Ce Mardi 22 Mars, 1825.

P. S. J'aurais bien bonne envie de vous dire quelques mots moi-meme sur les contes de cession de territoire par le roi des Isles à l'Angleterre, sur les bonnes informations à mon égard de M. l'aide-de-camp du Duc d'York, et sur les lumières que peut avoir répandu M. Arago dans son ouvrage du sujet des Isles, de ses habitans et de moi en particulier; mais, outre que M. Morice vous en entretient assez pour vous faire voir le prix qu'on doit ajouter à ces absurdités.

Je regarde, et vous devez croire que j'ai raison, comme inutile de repousser les unes, et comme au dessous de moi de répondre aux autres.

Inculquez bien cela dans l'esprit de vos Messieurs. Au surplus, lorsque nous reverrons il me sera très facile d'effacer du vôtre l'impression que ces méchantes sottises peuvent y avoir faite.

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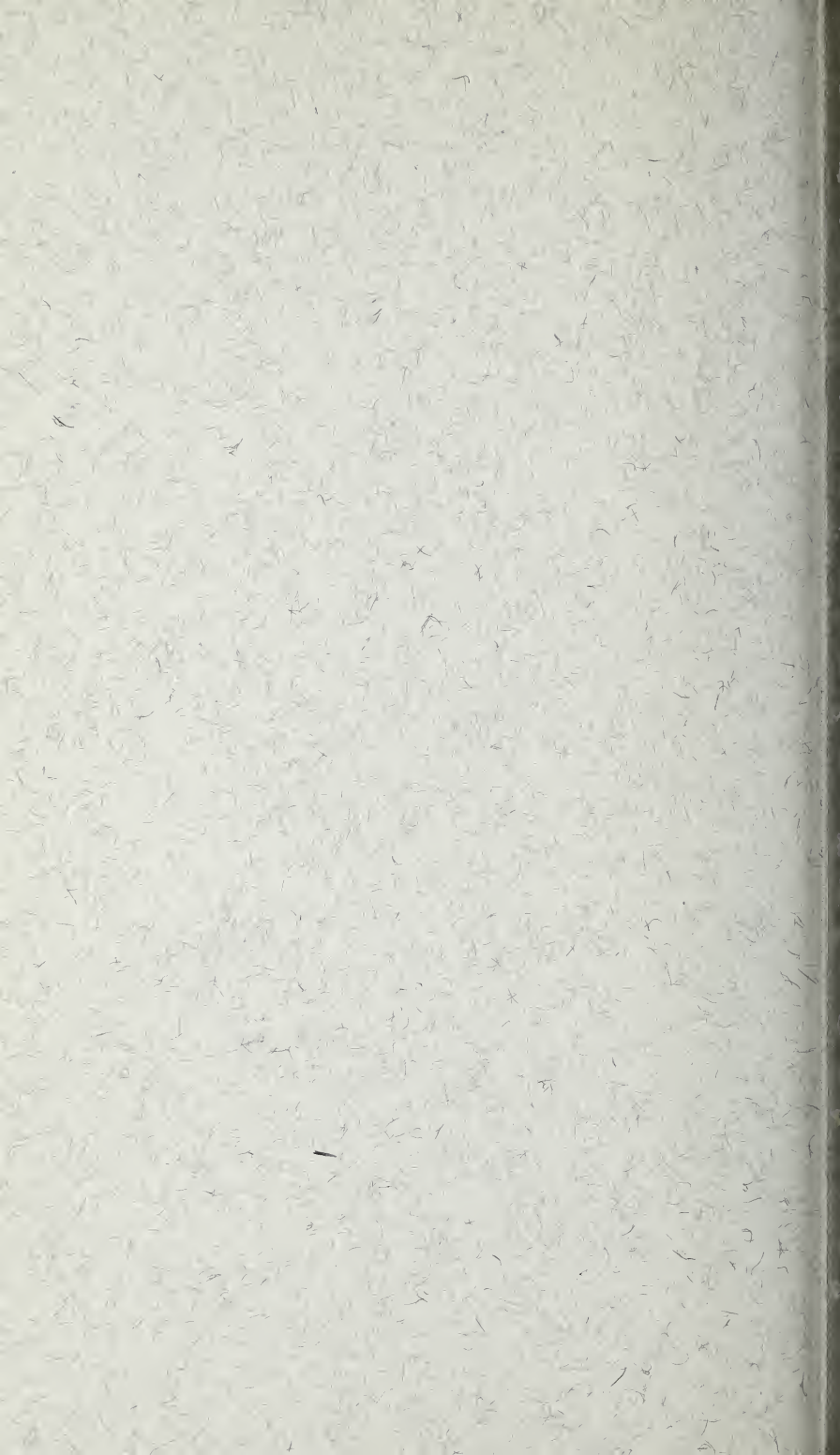
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Hopper, J. A.	Hosmer, F. A.	
Hyde, Rev. C. M.	Hall, W. W.	
I aukea, C. P.	Irwin, W. G.	
J ones, G. W. C.	Jones, J. W.	Jones, P. C.
Judd, Hon. A. F.	Judd, Miss H. S.	
K auhane, Hon. J.	Kanakanui, S. M.	Kitcat, Rev. V. H.
Kenake, L. T.	Kauhi, A.	Kidwell, J.
King, J. A.	Kerr, L. B.	Kynnersley, C. S.
L amb, Miss Dora.	Lyons, C. J.	Lindsay, Thos.
Lewers, Robert.	Lightfoot, J.	Lucas, Albert.
Logan, D.	Lowrey, F. J.	Lyons, Dr. A. B.
Lucas, Geo.	Lyle, Jas.	Luce, W. S.

Macfarlane , E. C.	Myers , Dr. R. P.	Mouritz , Dr. A.
Magoon , J. A.	Mackintosh , Rev. A.	May , Thos.
McBryde , A. M.	McCandless , J. A.	McCandless , J. S.
McCarthy , C. J.	McChesney , J. M.	McIntyre , H. E.
McGrew , Dr. J. S.	McGurn , A.	Mehrten , J. A.
Mellis , A. M.	McWayne , Dr. A.	Monsarrat , J. M.
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Nichols , Dr. A. E.	Nolte , H. V.	
Okabe , Rev. J.	Oat , F. B.	
Parker , S.	Paris , J. D.	Porter , T. C.
Peck , P.	Parmelee , H. A.	Parke , W. C.
Poor , H. F.	Peterson , Dr. C. A.	Peacock , W. C.
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Rodgers , Dr. C. T.	Ropert , Rev. F. G.,	
Roth , S.	Bishop of Panopolis.	
Rowell , W. E.	Rosa , A.	
Savidge , S.	Schaefer , F. A.	Swanzy , F. M.
Severance , H. W.	Simerson , A. C.	Schmidt , H. W.
Smith , G. W.	Smith , Henry.	Smith , D. B.
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Tracy , J. M.	Thurston , L. A.	
Vivas , J. M.	Von Holt , H.	
Waipuilani , J. H.	Walbridge , R. D.	Walker , T. R.
Waity , H. E.	Waterhouse , H.	Waterhouse , J. T.
Waller , G. J.	Wetmore , Dr. C. H.	West , G.
Weedon , W. C.	Whiting , W. A.	Whitney , H. M.

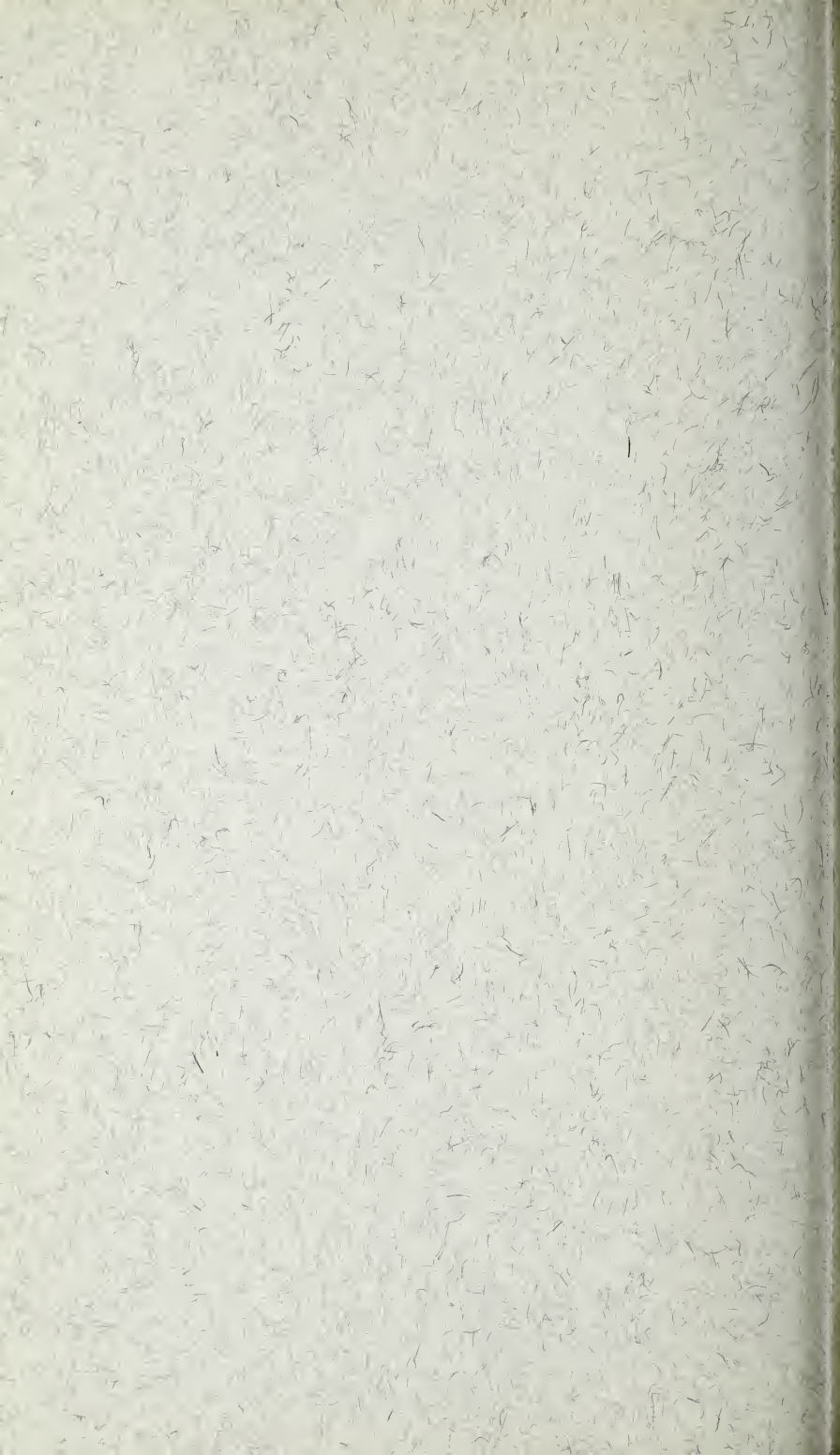
White, J. C.	Wichman, H. F.	Widemann, H. A.
Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wilcox, A. S.	Wilcox, G. N.
Widemann, C. A.	Wilcox, W. L.	Wilder, Mrs. S. G.
Wilder, W. C.	Willis, Rt. Rev. A.	Williams, C. E.
Williams, Chas.	Wodehouse, E. H.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
Wright, W. H.	Wundenberg, F. W.	Wood, J. Q. .



FIFTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
HONOLULU, H. I.,
1897.

HONOLULU:
ROBERT GRIEVE, ELECTRIC BOOK AND JOB PRINTER,
No. 118 Merchant Street (up stairs).
1898.

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
Millwood, N.Y.
1978



F I F T H
A N N U A L R E P O R T

O F T H E

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

HONOLULU, H. I.,

1 8 9 7 .

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1978

OFFICERS, 1898.

PRESIDENT	N. B. EMERSON
VICE-PRESIDENT.....	S. B. DOLE
“ “	W. F. ALLEN
“ “	HAROLD M. SEWALL
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LIBRARIAN.....	MISS M. A. BURBANK

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 29, 1897.

Abstract of Minutes of the Annual Meeting, held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Nov. 29, 1897, at 7:30 P. M.

Hon. W. R. Castle, President of the Society, took the chair at the hour appointed.

The Treasurer, Mr. T. R. Mossman, read his Annual Report, which was accepted and ordered on file.

The Librarian, Miss M. A. Burbank, read her Annual Report, and Prof. W. D. Alexander, Corresponding Secretary, read his Annual Report.

These were accepted, and ordered on file.

The election of officers for the ensuing year was the next business in order. Mr. Castle positively declined serving again, and Dr. N. B. Emerson was chosen, President. President S. B. Dole, Col. W. F. Allen, U. S. Minister H. M. Sewall, were chosen Vice-Presidents. The other officers of the Society were re-elected, with the exception of the Treasurer, T. R. Mossman, who declined to serve again, and in his place Miss M. R. Lamb was chosen Treasurer.

Hon. C. R. Bishop, of San Francisco, was chosen an Honorary Member, and Mr. C. V. E. Dove, Prof. Edgar Wood, Hon. H. M. Sewall, were elected Active Members.

Mr. J. S. Emerson presented to the Society six volumes of the Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, and received the thanks of the Society.

S. Percy Smith, Esq., Surveyor General of New Zealand, a Corresponding Member of the Society, responded to an invitation from the President, remarking that he had been delighted with

what he had seen in the Hawaiian Islands, and with the generous hospitality he had enjoyed in the homes of so many of the people. President Emerson suggested the desirability of securing phonographic records of *meles* as chanted, and of the Hawaiian language as spoken in connected discourse.

Officers of the HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1897-8:

President.....	Dr. N. B. Emerson.
Vice-President.....	President S. B. Dole.
“ “	Colonel W. F. Allen.
“ “	U. S. Minister H. M. Sewall.
Corresponding Secretary.....	Prof. W. D. Alexander.
Recording Secretary.....	Rev. C. M. Hyde, D. D.
Librarian.....	Miss M. A. Burbank.
Treasurer.....	Mrs. J. S. Emerson.

C. M. HYDE,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

Membership Dues and Initiation Fees..	\$ 121 00
Sale of Pamphlets.....	75
Interest on Bonds.....	120 00
Cash Withdrawn from Postal Savings Bank.....	100 00
Cash from Treasurer Last Year.....	44 65
	<u>\$ 386 40</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Commissions Paid for Collections	\$ 4 00
Type-writing.....	4 50
Dues Returned to W. C. Parke.....	1 00
Purchase of Books, Pamphlets and Papers.....	32 96
Printing and Binding Pamphlets, Cuts, Pamphlet Cases, Histories, Wrappers, etc.....	224 96
Postage Stamps.....	10 10
Janitor	48 00
Cataloguing.....	8 00
Advertisements.....	5 25
	<u>\$ 338 77</u>
Cash on Hand.....	47 63
Funds in Postal Savings Bank.....	171 40
	<u>\$ 219 03</u>

As the disbursements for the past year have over-run the receipts, partly due to the extra outlay for purchase of books, pamphlets, etc., and printing same, I found it necessary to draw one hundred (\$100) dollars on the funds of the Society in the Postal Savings Bank to assist in meeting this extra outlay.

I exceedingly regret to report that the income from membership dues has largely fallen off, due, I believe, from the difficulty in making collections.

The outstanding liabilities of the Society are: \$100 to the Librarian and £21 10s 8d, or about \$102.75, due Bernard Quaritch of London, England, for a complete set of Freycinet's Voyages.

Respectfully submitted,

T. R. MOSSMAN,

Treasurer Hawaiian Historical Society.

HONOLULU, November 29, 1897.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

To the President and Officers of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

The report for the year is as follows: The pamphlets, which had been arranged in pamphlet cases, by Dr. Hyde, have been catalogued; the set of pictures of Honolulu in the "fifties" presented by the late Mr. Warren Goodale has, with the Society's stamp, been hung in the reading room of the Library Association, where they can be seen by a greater number of people than if left in the Historical Society's room. The Mission Children's Society have contributed their papers as a loan to the Historical Society, which have been placed in their book-case in the room of the Historical Society.

Freycinet's Voyages in large and beautifully illustrated volumes, with maps and charts, has just been received from England, purchased by the Society.

Small donations of books and pamphlets have been received and

an interesting map of the Hawaiian Islands published in 1839 from a friend in Germany.

Sets of the publications of the Society have been sent to the
 New York Public Library,
 Smithsonian Institute,
 Field Columbian Museum,
 Yale University Library,
 Harvard University Library,
 Massachusetts Historical Society,
 and Kansas Historical Society.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK, .

Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1897.

Since the last meeting of this Society, three papers have been contributed by its members. The first by our lamented friend, Mr. Warren Goodale, was read before the Society on the 2d of July last, together with a paper by the undersigned on the uncompleted treaty of Annexation of 1854, which latter has been published. Mr. Goodale's paper will be published with a supplement in the next annual report. Since then an interesting paper has been contributed by Hon. Paul Neumann, on the visit of Capt. Bouchard and the mutineers of the Santa Rosa to these Islands in 1818, which was expected to be read this evening.

During the coming year we hope to receive contributions from Rev. Stephen Desha on ancient Hawaiian poetry, from E. G. Hitcock, Esq., on the famous sorcerer, Waililii, and from M. K. Nakuina, J. C. Searle, S. Kananui and others on subjects

to be selected by themselves. It gives me great pleasure to state that Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's Hawaiian Antiquities is completed, and ready for the press. The full and scholarly notes and appendixes attached to it, greatly increase its value for all Polynesian scholars, and we hope that it may soon be published: Another esteemed member of our society, Miss Teuira Henry, has made good progress during the past year in writing her long looked for history of Tahiti, which will fill an important gap in our knowledge of Polynesia. Her researches in conjunction with those of S. Percy Smith, Esq., and Elsdon Best in New Zealand, have thrown new light on the ancient connection between the Maoris of New Zealand and the people of the Society Islands, as well as the aborigines of Hawaii nei. Important additions have recently made to our knowledge of the aboriginal tribes of New Zealand and the Chatham Islands, who inhabited those islands before the advent of the ferocious Maoris from Hawaiki.

Our esteemed correspondent, Judge Swan of Port Townsend, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of Peter Corney's narrative of his early voyages, gives some interesting reminiscences, which go to confirm early statements made in that work. He writes as follows:

“ When I first went to Shoal Water Bay, (now Willapa Harbor), in 1852, I saw a sister of Comcomly, the one eyed chief, whose name was ‘Carcumcum,’ a very old woman, who was accompanied by her son Ellewa, and his wife and slaves, all of the party having come from Chinook to Shoal Water to gather oysters for the traders. I had many conversations with old Carcumcum about old times. She remembered an uncle of mine, my mother's brother, Wm. Tufts, who was supercargo of the ship ‘Guatamozin’ of Boston, Capt. Glanville, from 1806 to 1810. She was wrecked on ‘Seven Mile Beach,’ New Jersey, Feb. 3d, 1810.

My uncle used to relate his adventures on the North-west coast to myself and brothers, and I in particular was much interested in his descriptions of the Columbia river, and of Comcomly, the

one-eyed chief, and when I met old Carcumcum, and found that she could corroborate what my uncle had told me many years before, I became interested in the study of the natives of the North-west coast, an interest which I feel to this day. Accordingly I read with peculiar satisfaction Mr. Corney's narrative. I feel a great interest in the study of the native races of the Pacific, and if I had resided in the Islands, I should have joined with you in studying everything of interest relating to the natives and their arts, their domestic life, their traditions and everything pertaining to their past history."

But let me add, that what remains to be done must be done quickly. The few who still possess some knowledge of the ancient folk-lore of Hawaii are fast passing away. The ancient Hawaiian poetry is already unintelligible to most of the present generation. As Mr. Elsdon Best poetically says: "The old trail to Te Reinga (or Hades) will soon be traversed by the last of the Tohungas," and in the onward rush and stress of the twentieth century civilization, the legends, the poetry and religious beliefs of the olden time will cease to exist except in libraries and museums. Then we may be justly blamed by future students of Primitive Man for the meagerness of the information which we have gathered and preserved regarding the thoughts and deeds of that primitive and isolated race which first settled these Islands.

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Corresponding Secretary.

SYNOPSIS OF A LECTURE

ON THE

ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS OF THE POLYNESIANS, CONSIDERED FROM THE SOUTH POLYNESIAN POINT OF VIEW, DELIVERED BEFORE THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY DECEMBER 14, 1897, BY S. PERCY SMITH, ESQ.

Mr. Fornander's views were correct in the main, and must be followed by every Polynesian scholar so far as the latter part of the migrations are concerned, but are probably open to correction in the view he takes that they originated from Saba, in Arabia. The later investigations would seem to show that we must look to India as the origin of the people, and probably to the northern part of that country. Wherever the original site is finally located, it must be acknowledged that outward influences, beyond the limits of India, have greatly affected the race. There are traces of such influences to be found from East Africa, Egypt, and very strongly from some Semitic source, possibly Arabia. Dravidian and North Indian influences are to be observed in customs, physique and language.

A very learned chief of New Zealand, named Wetere-te-Kahu, in describing the original Hawaiki of all, pictured it as an extensive land, a *tua-whenua* in fact, a mainland, and not an island, in which was to be found a very extensive area of level or low-lying country, bounded inland by very high mountains, whose tops were covered with perpetual snow. Through this lower country flowed the great river called Tohinga, which plays an important part in Maori tradition. No trace has yet been found of the same Hawaiki in connection with India, but it does not necessarily follow that it is not to be discovered there. A thorough search through documents connected with India has never been made for this special purpose. Various items of information are now being accumulated, which seem to show that there are traces of Polyn-

sian customs and language, both among the hill-tribes of India and among the Dravidian tribes of Southern India. This points to a probability that the Polynesians must, at one time, have occupied inland India, and again the maritime parts of the same country also. There is one cause which will probably account for this, and that is the irruption of the Aryan races into India and the gradual expulsion of the Polynesians from north to south. Granting this to be the case, it would be on the arrival of the people at the sea-board of India that they first became acquainted with ship-building and navigation, arts for which they were, in subsequent years, to become so distinguished. Whether this expulsion from the northern parts of India was due to the early irruptions of Aryans or to later ones, is difficult at present to settle; but whichever may be the case, it is quite clear that both peoples must have resided in the near neighborhood of each other, and that considerable intercourse must have taken place between them, a conclusion which is warranted by the fact that we find many Aryan root words incorporated in the Polynesian language, amongst which are a number connected with the important subject of their foods, such as the *kumara*, *taro*, *ulu*, and probably the pig.

Pressure on the race appears at least to have caused them to leave their homes and turn their faces towards the sunrise. From many bits of evidence it is clear that they passed on to the islands now known under the name of Indonesia, where are to be found at the present day many tribes occupying the interior of certain of the islands, whose affinities in customs, language and physique, are decidedly Polynesian. It seems not at all improbable that the ancient name of *Hawaiki* is to be seen, in an attenuated form, in *Awa*, (kingdom of) *Java*, *Savai* in the North Celebes, and *Ko-wai-ki* in West New Guinea. In the numerous islands of Indonesia the race would rapidly increase and their powers of navigation, and that love of adventure and exploration, which seems to have characterized them, would receive considerable development. It was while residing in that part of the world that the irruption of another race caused the Polynesians to move farther afield. This

race was the Malay, which is said to have made its appearance in those parts in the first and second centuries of the present era. The expulsion of the Polynesians from thence would necessarily be a long process, extending probably over many centuries; but it seems certain, from native traditions, that the first migration of Polynesians from that part took place not long after the arrival of some of the Malays in the archipelago. This first migration was formed of those portions of the Polynesian race who first occupied *Hawaii nei* and were known by the name *Menehune*. Whether they passed directly across the Pacific or proceeded by the Southern route, *via* Tahiti, is a question now almost impossible to settle. But the fact of finding people of nearly the same name, *Manahune*, in Tahiti, argues in favor of the Southern route. It is clear from the genealogical tables of Tahiti that that group has been occupied about as long as Hawaii. It was at this time also that part of the same migration, passing along the north shore of New Guinea, made their way to the south-east extremity of that island and there settled down, forming the tribes known as the *Motu* people, whose language and customs show strong affinities with the Polynesian generally modified by Papuan influences. It is probable, also, that at this same time, after passing to windward of the Solomon and New Hebrides Islands, they occupied the Fiji, Samoan and Tongan groups. Probably some stay was made in this neighborhood; but the adventurers pushed farther afield, reached Rarotonga, where lived some of their chiefs, by the name of *Toi* and *Ata*, with regard to whom the Raro-tongans of the present day will tell you that these chiefs and their descendants were in occupation of the island long before the arrival of the subsequent migration twenty-five generations ago, under Karika and others.

It was this migration also which first peopled New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. So far as the New Zealand traditions can be relied upon, at a time, forty generations ago, there were people living in that country, at which time a visitor appeared from some distant land called *Mata-ora*, the locality of which is not now known. Not being satisfied with the appearance of the country he

departed, leaving the original inhabitants in New Zealand to themselves. During the period between the first and second migration into the Pacific there was great trouble in New Zealand, due to causes which are fully set forth in the Moriori traditions. These troubles led to a further *heke*, flight or migration from New Zealand to the Chatham Islands. This occurred about twenty-six generations ago. The traditions of the Marquesans distinctly show that there have been two, if not more, migrations to those islands, the first of which must have been during the first great irruption of the race into Polynesia. Many other islands no doubt, at this time, received their first human inhabitants, such as the Paumotus; but their sum total cannot have been a very large one.

On departing from Malaysia the first migration must have left behind many of their fellow tribesmen in the islands, who certainly were influenced by, and in turn exerted an influence on, the Malay race. For it is clear from a study of the Polynesians to-day that they have customs and words which are common to the Malays. It is uncertain how long the Polynesians remained as neighbors of the Malays; but a time came, probably due to wars and the increase of the Malay element, when the second and last migration of the Polynesian into the Pacific took place. It is believed that what Malay influences can be detected in the Polynesian race were brought in at the time of the second migration. According to the Raro-tongan histories this second migration occupied countries, or islands, which are now known to them under the names of *Atea*, Iti (Fiji) *Hawaiki-raro*, or the leeward *Hawaiki*. Amidst the considerable amount of detail regarding this period that is still retained by the Raro-tongan traditions occurs the name of a great chief, who was their *ariki*, or king, called *Te-tupua-o Ava-iki*. He is accredited with building a gathering place for gods and men, called *Koro-tua-tini*, which is said to have been twelve *maro*, or fathoms, high. This structure was erected in the land called *Atea*.

It is clear that this migration resided for some time in the Fiji group. Raro-tongan traditions give particulars of a good many

occurrences there and furnish the Polynesian names for many of the islands, among which are *Hiti-nui*, *Hiti-rahi*, *Hiti-anau-nau*, *Hiti-takai-kere*, *Hiti-malama*, and *Hiti-raro*.

The Samoan traditions refer to a time in their history, from twenty-one to twenty-seven generations ago, when some people, called by them Fijians and Tongans, practically conquered the whole Samoan group, and drove the Samoans, who were part of the first migration into the Pacific, into the mountains and the interior, where they lived for several years. The remains of their cultivations, walls, road, etc., are seen to this day. Their enemies in the meantime occupied the whole of the coast-line. The people spoken of in these traditions as Fijians were not the people whom we at this day call by that name, but some of those who formed a part of the second migration into the Pacific. They were, however, Polynesians, like the Samoans, though they seem to have been endowed with greater force of character, being more warlike, and possessed of greater ability; they were also probably worshippers of different gods, Tane being their chief god, and Tangaroa holding a secondary place. We learn from Maori traditions some details of this particular period. According to them there occurred some twenty-six generations ago a very notable siege of a *pa*, called *Te-uru-o-Manono*, in which a tribe, *Ati-hapai*, under their chief, *Ha-popo*, received a severe defeat, which caused his flight to parts unknown to the Maoris. Raro-tongan traditions, however, take up the story and tell us that this defeated chief and his people escaped to Raro-tonga and settled there.

The Island of *Te-uru-o-Manono* may probably be identified with the Island of *Manono*, off the west end of *Upolu*, and the *Ati-hapai* as the people of *Hapai* Island, who, consequently, form a part of the so-called Tongans mentioned in the Samoan traditions. It was at this period also that *Tahiti* and the adjacent islands, the *Pau-motus*, *Marquesas*, *Raro-tonga*, also *Hawaii*, received accessions to their populations under well-known chiefs, who are shown to have come from *Ava-iki-raro*, which are probably the same as the *Fiji* and *Samoan* groups.

This was the period of the great voyages of the Polynesians, and it is believed that these voyages were generally undertaken by the people of the second migration into the Pacific, who, as has been shown, occupied the Samoan group under the names of Tongans and Fijians. The Raro-tongan records show that at this time their voyages extended from *Rotuma*, situated to the north of Fiji, to *Rapa-nui*, (deemed to be *Te-pito-te-whenua*, i. e., the navel or centre of the earth), or Easter Island, in the far east; and from *Vai-hi*, i. e., Hawaii here in the north to *Hawaiki-tautau*, or New Zealand in the south. This, however, is not the most southerly voyage they appear to have taken. In the times of *Tama-metua*, who lived in *Alea*, it would seem as if voyages were extended to the Antarctic regions. One of these voyages is said to have been extended into the *area* (Raro-tongan word), i. e., the wide space beyond *Rapa-iti*, the most southerly of the islands South of Tahiti. They describe going so far South that they reached a region where there was no sun, where the water was cold, where there were mountainous waves, where steep rocks rise out of the ocean with their pinnacles pointing to the sky, where are to be found monsters, deceivers of man, (*tai-uka-a-pia*) who dive deep into the ocean, where was seen the woman with long hair floating on the sea. This voyage occurred under the leadership of a chief name *Ara-tanga-nuku*; and from what has been said it appears tolerably certain that those hardy navigators penetrated so far South as to meet with icebergs, the walrus, and the bull-kelp of the Antarctic sea (below Lat. 45 degrees S.)

This then is the heroic period of Polynesian history, when *Tinirau*, *Ta-whaki*, *Wahie-roa*, *Rata*, *Tu-whaka-raro*, *Whiro* and other heroes flourished, whose histories comprise what may be termed the classics of Polynesia.

This period may be fixed approximately as between 1100 and 1350 A. D. Shortly before the close of this period communication ceased between Hawaii and the southern groups, a communication which had been going on continuously for some five generations. It was at its close, or about the year 1350, that the celebrated fleet of

canoes sailed from the central Pacific to New Zealand, manned by fierce warriors and capable administrators, who in a few generations altered entirely the conditions of life in New Zealand. These were the people who first brought the *kumara* or sweet potato to New Zealand.

This was the date, then, which appears to have closed not only the migrations, but the long voyages of the Polynesians. The expulsion of the so-called Fijians and Tongans from Samoa seems to have initiated that period of extended voyages, which Fornander has so fully referred to, but the cause of which he was at a loss to suggest.

S. PERCY SMITH.

TAHITIAN FOLKLORE

COMPARED WITH THE SAMOAN AND HAWAIIAN, BY
MISS TEUIRA HENRY.

The subject of the interesting lecture recently delivered by Mr. Churchill on Samoan folklore, calls to mind much that is in common with Tahitian records.

The supreme God of the Tahitian was Taaroa, who sent his spirit into a rock, called the Great-Foundation-which-thundered, to build up and extend the earth. But in this case, the lightning was not called upon to aid in the creation; that was a powerful god that accompanied hosts to battle and aided in solemn observances.

The Samoan legend of the malformed son of a king, who was gradually developed into a perfect person, resembles the Tahitian account of the birth of the god Tane in the sky. He lay a great, shapeless mass without head or limbs, extended in the arms of his mother, Atea or Vast-Expanse, and many artisans were called upon to transform him into a perfect being. But none of them dared to approach him from fear and dread of the majesty of the

great Atea. Then Taaroa sent his spirit to aid the mother in moulding the son into a handsome man, who became the god of beauty, and his home was the highest heaven or tenth sky, from whence he descended to the earth whenever invoked by man to do so.

The story of the massive stone that was moved into the sea by a couple of eels, according to the Samoan legend, resembles that of the removal of Tahiti from Hawaii or Raiatea, which is as follows:—

During a time of restriction at Opoa, when all nature was hushed under the solemn spell of the presence of the gods, when the priesthood fasted in religious service within the enclosure of the *marae*, and no human being or other living creature could be seen with impunity outside of their dwellings, there was a fair young damsel named Terehe, who becoming wearied with the restraint, had the temerity to disregard the restriction and indulge in a bath and swim, in the deep flowing stream close by.

But she was soon punished by the gods, who caused her to sink and get drowned, and she was swallowed whole by a great eel, for which reason her grandmother took the name of Mavete-ai-tuna (Expanding-eel-devourer).

The spirit of the girl disturbed the eel, which became so possessed that it rushed frantically among the roots and rocks, until the land that extended from Opoa to Tahaa became quickened into a great living thing, and thus it rushed away, guided by the god Tu, standing upon its head, to the eastern borders, where it rested and became stable, as land again. Hence its name, *Ta-hiti* (going to the border or transplanted). Warriors and gods were afterwards employed in securing the stability of the great fish, by cutting its sinews, and there are landmarks still shown as proofs that the story is true.

According to Samoan folklore, it appears that women sprang from a worm, but in the Tahitian version, Hina, the first woman, with a face before and behind, was a goddess, and she mitigated many evils in the world, occasioned by her husband, the first man, Tii-clothed-in-sand.

Common swine are said to have sprung from worms at Raiatea,

the land famous for so many strange things. And there was also Oro's heavenly pig, the story of which resembles that of Tama-puaa of these Islands.

The story of the battle of Matamatame accords with the account given in Tahitian history of the last international gathering of Te-ao-tea and Te-ao-wii at Taputapuatea in Opoa, to which there is reference in a former article on Tahiti, published by the Hawaiian Historical Society, and which Mr. Percy Smith affirms is also recorded in New Zealand history, with remarkable accuracy. But the account of this event will be fully given in the "History of Tahiti."

In regard to the former article on Tahiti above mentioned, it contains an erratum which should be noted. It says that King Pomare I rejoiced in his new God Jehovah, as he emphatically designated the true God. It was the son, Pomare II, and not the father, that embraced Christianity and spoke thus. They were both contemporary with Kamehameha I.

In volume 2 of "The Polynesian Race," by Judge Fornander, the ancient Hawaiian songs contain much that blends with Tahitian folklore. And with admirable precision that learned gentleman traces out and almost identifies the localities in the south, from whence the names preserved in the Hawaiian tongue have been derived, leaving it to others to prove the same.

In the chant of Kaulu-a-Kalana, the famous navigator, are found these lines, on pages 13 & 14:

"E Kaulu-e, a fleet is he,
He has landed on Vavau,
Upolu, little Pu-kalia,
Great Pu-kalia Alala,

* * * *

The "Isthmus," etc.

It has already been shown that Vavau and Uporu were formerly the names of Porapora and Tahaa, and by rendering the names

Pu-kalia and Alala into Tahitian, *Pu taria a rara*, the two middle lines would read thus;

“Uporu, the little ear,

The great ear branching out.”

And as we find that there is also an isthmus connected with it, the words seem clearly to be descriptive of the Island of Tahaa, as it is composed of a greater and lesser peninsula resembling ears, connected by an isthmus. This sense is still more forcibly given by the word “*Kuina*,” which stands in the Hawaiian for Isthmus, as the Tahitian of it would be Tui-na, *touching point*.

In addition to the above, in the same chant, on p. 14, are these lines:—

“Finished is Kahiki by Kaulu,

To the coral reef where the surf is roaring

From the time perhaps of Ku,

From the time perhaps of Lono,”

which shows that they were familiar with the name Tu in connection with Tahiti. And furthermore, it seems evident that the name Lono is identical with the Tahitian Roo or Fame, as Tu and Roo are often mentioned thus together.

In the song of Ku-alii, p. 386, it says that Ku was followed by a train of clouds; and according to a very old Tahitian chant, it is said that after the god Tane was matured, Tu went in search among the clouds, for the infant Roo, or Fame, the messenger of Tane, and that at last he found him in a great gilded cloud, where he soon grew up into a comely youth, and accompanied Tu to his handsome master, Tane.

On pages 50 & 51, Fornander mentions that Moa-ula-nui-akea is the name of a land or district where Olopana, or the Tahitian King Oropaa, dwelt; that Lani-ke-ha was the name of the residence and Heiau or Marae of Moikeha; and that Kapa-ahu was the name of a neighboring mountain where Laa-mai-Kaliki was stopping when Kila was sent to bring back Moikeha. The first name is probably the Tahitian Moua-ura-nui-atea (Great-red-clear-mountain) or simply *Moua-ura*, now generally known as Taharaa, whose

high cliffs or red clay render it conspicuous as it stands out in bold relief from the rich green of the neighbouring plains on either side. Upon that great hill grows the *lehua* or *rata*, so well known to the Hawaiian, Tahitian and Maori, and from its summit is obtained a panorama view, so grand, of lofty mountain ranges, verdant valleys, plains and capes, and the deep blue sea, in the midst of which rises Hiro's surging rock of coral, while in the distant horizon looms up the picturesque Island of Moorea. And close down on the western side lies the well watered district of Pare, with forests of breadfruit, cocoanut and orange, the cradle and birthplace of the great Oropaas of Tahiti, who extended their dominions over all the land, and from whom the Pomares, thrice royal, descended.

Lani-keha, rendered Rai-te-ha (the healing chief), would be a very appropriate name for the residence and marae of the priest Moikeha, whose name translated into Tahitian, Mai-te-ha, means disease-healer by prayers; and the god of the Oropaas was Tipa, the healing god, hence the absence of the name of Oro, which baffled Fornander in his researches, as expressed on p. 51. And the mountain, Kapaahu, in the neighborhood of which lived Laa-mai-Kahiki, may have been the Tapahi range of hills in the neighbouring district of Mahina, on the northeastern side of Mt. Moua-ura-nui-atea.

On p. 388, in the song of Ku-alii, the description of Kahiki resembles that of Tahitian song. It says:

“ O Kahiki, land of the far reaching ocean,

Land where Olopana dwelt,

Within is the land, outside is the sun,

Indistinct is the land when approaching.”

In different snatches of Tahitian folklore we find these words:

“ Tahiti, land of the long upper border,”

“ Tahiti of Oropaa,

“ Upon its back climbs the sun,”

“ Tahiti of the hazy mist.”

And again the Hawaiian song says:

“ The men of Kahiki have ascended up
 The backbone of Heaven,
 Up there they trample indeed,
 And look down below.

* * * * *

One kind of man is in Kahiki— * * *

He is like a god,

I am like a man,

A man indeed,

Wandering about, and the only man who got there.

Passed is the day of Kukahi and the day of Kulua,

The night of Kukahi and the day of Kulua.

By morsels was the food;

Picking the food with a noise like a bird.”

And by putting Tahitian fragments together, we have the following words which probably gave birth to the above:—

“ Mount Orohena, the top fin (of the fish) reaching Heaven,

Up its sides ascend the yellow feather seekers,

And upon its summit is the lake

Where swims the red feathered duck.”

“ With the wind did the gods descend upon Tahiti,

Driven were the people with terror,

One man, many men, and women and children,

Into caves and ravines.”

“ The night ebbed, the day ebbed,

Only by morsels like birds' food were they fed.”

Thus we find Fornander's work replete with a rich supply of information that closely unites these Isles of the North with those of the South, and much more might he have done, but falling a victim to a fatal malady, the bold strokes of the pen of that giant thinker were numbered by an untimely death; yet not before he received, in recognition of his stupendous labours, the decoration of the Order of the North Star, from his Sovereign, the King of Sweden. And to his memory is still being paid the homage of those who follow in his track beneath the brilliant stars of the great Orion and the Southern Cross.

TEUIRA HENRY.

CAPT. HYPOLITE BOUCHARD

AND

HIS TREATY WITH KAMEHAMEHA I.

READ BEFORE THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FEBRUARY 11, 1898.

Through the courtesy of Professor W. D. Alexander, data and direction to various sources of information about an interesting episode in Hawaiian History were given to me with the behest that the material be used to prepare a short essay to be presented to the HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF HAWAII. The promise to comply with Professor Alexander's request has launched me upon the unfamiliar sea of historic writing, and one which, strictly sailed, admits of neither fiction nor fancy, but forces one to steer by facts alone.

The events of the past few years have given the Hawaiian Islands more prominence than they ever had before the world, previously to the events of 1893, and it is not a matter of indifference that as early as the year 1818, the islands then under the sway of Kamehameha I, entered into diplomatic relations with the Argentine Republic, then known as the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

A few years before that time the Argentine Republic had thrown off the yoke of Spain, declared itself independent and equipped vessels of war to prey upon Spain's commerce and carry on a naval warfare with that power, during its struggle for independence.

Two of these vessels visited the Hawaiian Islands. The first to arrive here bore a very suspicious and questionable character, judging from the appearance, habits and actions of her crew and officers. She bore the name of the "Victory," and was commanded

by a Captain whose assumed name was Turner, and who was supposed to have been an Englishman or a Scotchman.

This vessel had been fitted out by the Argentine Government as a privateer, under the name of the "Chacabuco," also called the "Santa Rosa," at Buenos Ayres. On her arrival off Valparaiso the crew mutinied, sent the Captain and thirteen men who refused to join in the mutiny ashore, and ran away with the ship on the 27th of July, 1817, and arrived at Kealakekua Bay, where they sold the vessel to Kamehameha for 6000 piculs of sandal-wood and a number of casks of rum. Here the self-styled Captain Turner, who was supposed to have been master's mate before the mutiny, and whose real name was McDonald, managed to make his escape to England.

The rest of the crew scattered in the various islands of the group, and led a life of intemperance and debauchery; but did not probably commit any acts of other lawlessness or violence, as nothing was heard of them in that connection, or otherwise, until they were subsequently captured.

It is worth relating that after the mutiny off Valparaiso McDonald ran away with the vessel again, abandoning one Griffith, first lieutenant of the mutineers and forty of the crew, who had been sent inshore to cut out some vessels. Griffiths and his party were no sooner, with their boats, out of sight of the mutineers, than the latter agreed to leave him and make for the Hawaiian Islands, which plan they carried out. Subsequently Griffiths and his consorts arrived at Hawaii in a brig, which they had captured, and requested Kamehameha to give up the "Santa Rosa" which the King, however, refused to do.

Griffiths remained in the islands, and his fate will be detailed hereafter.

Towards the beginning of 1816, a Russian Colony from Norfolk Sound, led by one Dr. Scheffer or Shefham, had settled on Oahu, where they built houses and cleared a site for a fort at Honolulu. From this position the Russians were, however, dislodged and forced to leave Oahu, the fort being completed by the natives

under the direction of John Young, who had warned Kamehameha of the usurping designs of Scheffer and his followers. The fort, after completion, was occupied and maintained by the natives until the year 1857, when it was dismantled.

Dr. Scheffer and his Russian colonists did not leave the islands however; but settled on Kauai, where they were found by Peter Corney, on the 17th of March, 1817. At Waimea, on Kauai, they had founded a settlement, and erected a fort, mounting thirty guns. Here they meddled with the natives and also with merchant vessels, who visited the island to obtain sandal-wood for export to China, and made themselves otherwise obnoxious so that Kaumualii, the Chief of Kauai, being apprehensive that the Russians intended to make themselves complete masters of the Island of Kauai, expelled them by force. In the conflict it is related that several Russians and natives were killed; but the result was the flight of the Russians, and the occupation of the fort by Kaumualii, and the natives. With this ended entirely the occupation of the Russians, nor does it seem that the Government of the Czar took any notice of the forcible expulsion of Scheffer and his colonists, or made an attempt to punish or retaliate upon the Hawaiians for their act. At any rate no serious or other results followed that expulsion; but the proof remains that even in that early time of the existence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the chiefs manifested a jealous desire for the independence of their country and were not prevented by fear from fighting for it.* In other respects, the relations of Kamehameha and his people with those foreigners who visited the Hawaiian Islands were pleasant and cordial, without serious interruption.

The second occasion of a visit by a vessel of the new Republic to our islands occurred in the month of August, 1818, when the frigate "Argentina" anchored at Kealakekua Bay, under the command of Hypolite Bouchard, a Frenchman, who had taken

* For a fuller account of Dr. Scheffer's doings on Kauai and of his expulsion, see Paper No. 6 of this series.

service under the revolutionary government of the Argentine Republic.

The frigate was a Spanish man-of-war named the "Consecuencia," and after a severe and most daring fight was captured by Bouchard himself at Callao. The attack and action showed, on the part of Bouchard and his men, a spirit of audacity, coolness and prowess; which were not surpassed by Drake or Hawkins in any of their renowned exploits. The captured vessel was taken to Buenos Ayres, there refitted and set out under the white and blue flag, the colors of the Argentine Republic, against the Spaniards.

The frigate was of six hundred and seventy-seven tons burden, and had an armament of forty-two guns—eight and twelve pounds caliber.

The vessel was manned by thirteen officers and two hundred and fifty men, sailors and marines. She started from Buenos Ayres in the year 1817, but her start was attended by various accidents. First a quarrel occurred between certain of the men before the vessel sailed, in which two men were killed, and four seriously wounded. The disturbance was quelled by Lieutenant Somers, and the marines. Shortly after the vessel sailed a fire broke out between decks, which was subdued only by the most strenuous efforts of the crew and which left the frigate considerably damaged, though all necessary repairs were afterwards made during the voyage.

Afterwards near the Cape of Good Hope, the vessels encountered several furious tempests, which, however, she weathered without suffering serious damage, and all in all the beginning of her cruise was anything but auspicious.

A most interesting account of the voyage is given by F. de Olivera Cezar, in his narrative entitled "El Corsario, La Argentina," published by Felix Lajonane at Buenos Ayres, 1894, which relates further the breaking out of scurvy among the crew while the vessel neared the Asiatic Archipelago, and a stirring account of an attack made by Malayan pirates upon the vessel near

Celebes, which was repulsed, and the pirates who led the attack utterly destroyed.

After various successful expeditions among the Philippine Islands, and inflicting serious damage on Spanish commerce and shipping, the cruiser sailed for the Hawaiian Islands, reaching the anchorage about the date mentioned.

It will not be amiss to give a short notice of the commander of the cruiser, Captain Bouchard.

Hypolite Bouchard was born at Saint Tropez near Marseilles in 1785, and consequently was about thirty-two years of age at the time of the expedition, mention of which is here made. Little information could be obtained of his earlier days; but from the qualities which he showed in his career, so far as known, he was evidently a man of superior education, dauntless courage, of untiring energy and adroitness in such affairs, which as of course required his management. The author before mentioned gives a glowing description of his personality. He says of Bouchard that he was tall, very athletic, handsome in features, and appearance, of kindly and courteous disposition; but in warlike action, indomitable and bold, even to rashness, yet calm and judicious under the most trying circumstances. He was a man of strict sobriety and self-denial. In short he possessed all the qualities which stamp a man a leader and a hero.

Captain Bouchard was received by King Kamehameha with great hospitality, and kindness, and the natives vied with each other in their friendly attention to the men of the "Argentina."

The King assisted Bouchard very readily to effect the capture and arrest of the parties who had stolen the "Chacabuco," and who, with the exception of Griffiths, were assigned to duty as seamen on the vessels under Bouchard's command. For by arrangement with the King, the "Chacabuco," *alias* Santa Rosa, was restored to the Argentine Government, and subsequently sailed under command of Captain Peter Corney, with the "Argentina" to Valparaiso, during which voyage the vessels captured the fort and town of Monterey, in California, then a possession of the Spanish Crown.

The capture of Griffiths nearly led to serious trouble. The man had taken up his abode on Kauai, where, at the request of Bouchard, he had been arrested and confined in the Waimea fort by the Chief of Kauai, Kaumualii. He had been condemned to be executed the ensuing morning by the unanimous judgment of a court-martial which had been convened on board of the frigate.

On the morning for which the execution was fixed the prison was found open and the prisoner had fled, presumably with the connivance of Kaumualii, who desired to save the man to whom he had given an asylum.

Bouchard greatly exasperated, demanded of Kaumualii the recapture and delivery of the culprit, and threatened that unless the demand was complied with within six hours he should bombard the village, and the fort. The reply of the the Chief was that "for every shot from the vessels he would answer with twenty-four from his battery, that for such purpose were the cannon in his fort."

When Kaumualii found however that the vessels were made ready to carry out Captain Bouchard's threat, he assured the latter that at eight o'clock of the following morning, Griffiths would be delivered to him. This was done, and after a short delay granted to the prisoner to make his peace with his Maker, he was placed against the wall of the fort, shot and buried on the beach of Waimea, Kauai.

This proceeding had been authorized by King Kamehameha, who expressed to Captain Bouchard his desire that the pirates should be condignly punished.

After Bouchard's return to Hawaii, a formal treaty was made between the King and the Government of the Argentine Republic, on the 20th of August, 1820, among the stipulations whereof was the recognition of the independence of the Republic, an alliance offensive and defensive, and the establishment of relations of amity and commerce, and this was the first treaty entered into by King Kamehameha with an independent foreign power, except the

so-called cession to Great Britain of February 25th, 1794, negotiated with Capt. George Vancouver.

The Russians who visited the Hawaiian Islands recognized the strength of character and other eminent qualities of Kamehameha I. They called him Peter the Great of Oceania, while others compared him to Napoleon, etc. We may safely accept this conclusion that the Hawaiian Islands had never a more able, courageous, wise and affable ruler.

The masterfulness with which Kamehameha first subdued and subsequently attached to himself in willing submission other Hawaiian chiefs, the tact and diplomacy which he manifested in his intercourse with those who visited his Kingdom,—some of those, visitors with rapacious designs,—the quick perception with which he recognized the value of civilization to his people, all show Kamehameha I to have been a wonderfully gifted man, who in any other country and among any other race would have been as great as he proved himself to be in his circumscribed realm. The Kingdom, however, is an institution of the past, “*le royaume est mort*,” the sun has set upon Kamehameha’s rule, and upon that of his successors, and what will the coming dawn bring to us?

PAUL NEUMANN.

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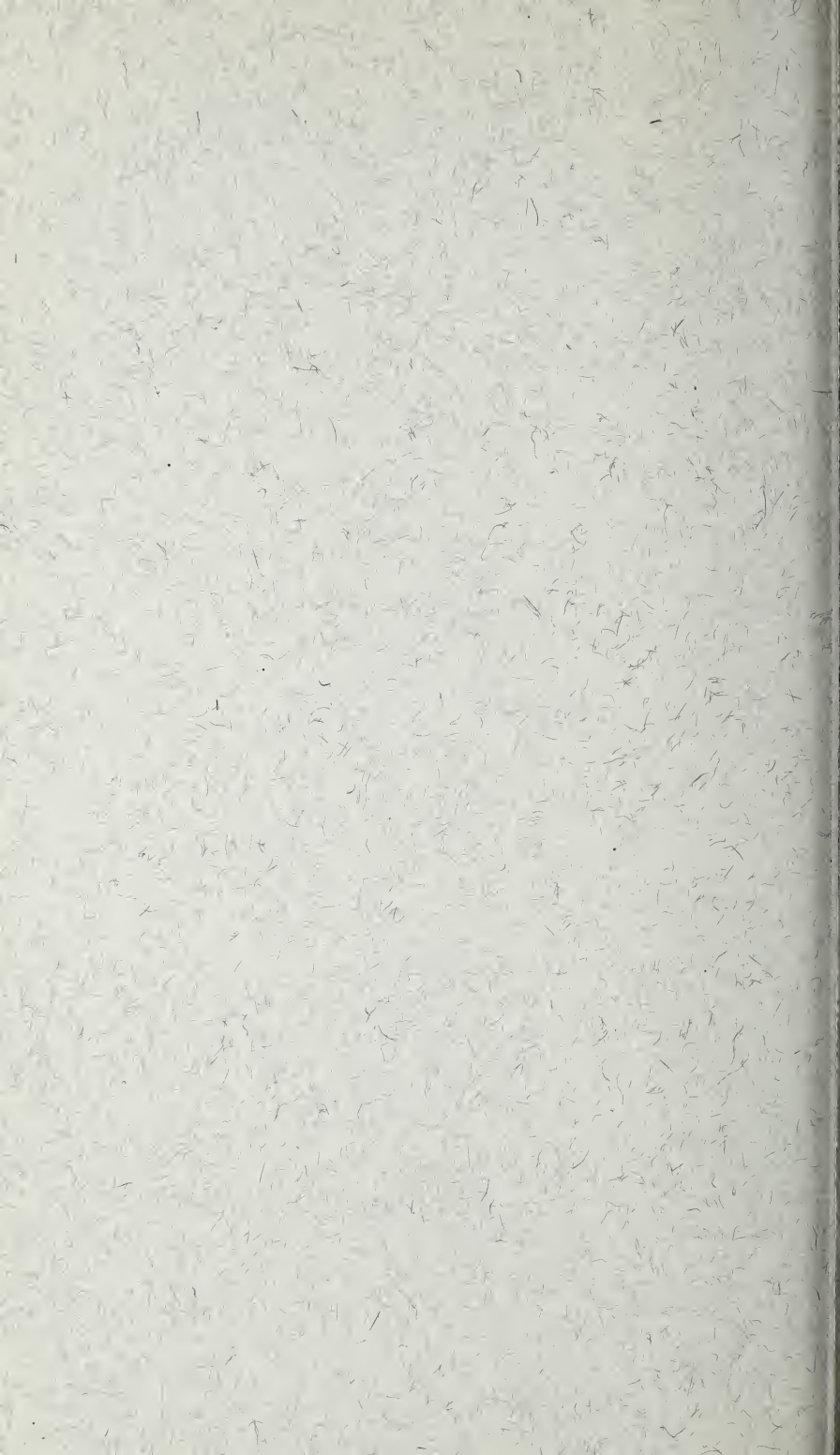
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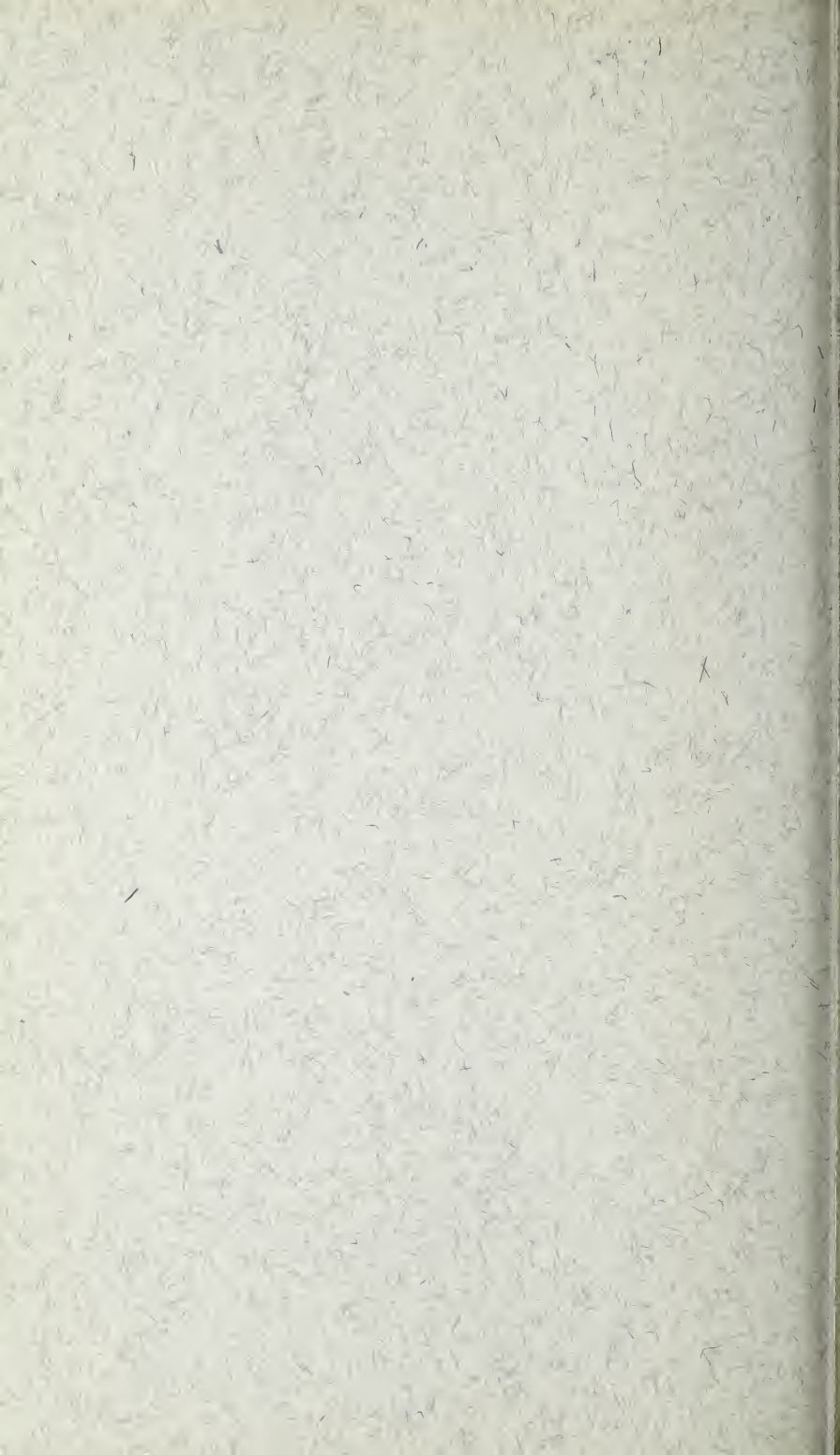
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OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD NOVEMBER 29, 1898.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY met at the Y. M. C. A. Hall at 7:30 P.M., the time of meeting having been postponed from Recognition Day by vote of the Board of Managers. Dr. N. B. Emerson (in the chair) called the Society to order. The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander, read his Annual Report. The Librarian, Miss Burbank, read her Report, after which she read, also, the Treasurer's Report in the absence of Mrs. J. S. Emerson. Her Report showed that the receipts for the year had been \$349.75, including \$100 drawn from the Postal Savings Bank. The expenditures had been \$273.80, besides \$121.15, deposited in the Postal Savings Bank. Cash on hand, \$2.43, besides \$216.85 in the Postal Savings Bank, and a Government Bond for \$2000, drawing interest at six per cent. per annum, of which \$60.00 was overdue.

On motion it was unanimously voted that the present Board of Officers be re-elected. It was voted to publish the Annual Report under the direction of the Board of Managers. Prof. Alexander then read a paper on the "Maker of the Hawaiian Flag." Dr. Emerson read a paper on Hawaiian Marriage Customs, "Ho-ao," as the consummation of marriage, and the different forms of betrothal, "hoopalau." Prof. Alexander then read some letters giving an account of what occurred at the death-bed of Kamehameha V. U. S. Minister Sewall moved a vote of thanks, which was passed, and a copy of the papers read was requested for publication.

C. M. HYDE,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on Hand November 29, 1897.....	\$ 47 63
Received for Members' Dues.....	187 00
Interest of Government Bond.....	60 00
Sale of Pamphlets.	2 75
Drawn from Postal Savings Bank.....	100 00
	<u>\$ 397 38</u>

EXPENDITURES.

For Freycinet's Voyages.....	\$106 15
For One Set of "The Hawaiian,".....	5 00
For Binding One Volume of the Ministerial Reports.....	3 50
For Binding One Volume of "The Friend,"	1 50
For Printing.....	89 00
For Postage Stamps.....	3 00
"Evening Bulletin," advertising.....	1 75
For Commission on Collections.....	15 90
For Janitor's Salary.....	48 00
For Deposited in Postal Savings Bank.....	121 15
	<u>\$ 394 95</u>
Balance on Hand.....	2 43
	<u>\$ 397 38</u>

Also, Govt. Bond of \$2000—Int. at 6 per cent. per annum.\$120 00

In Postal Savings Bank..... 216 85

MARY A. BURBANK,
Acting Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

There is little to report for the past year. No books have been ordered, and the donations have been entirely of small amounts of pamphlets and some pictures. A great deal of work is necessary in order to put the material in the Library of the Society into such a condition that it may easily be consulted, and it is hoped that during the coming year some competent person may be found to file the papers, pamphlets and clippings, and bring order out of chaos.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of this Society held December 14, of last year, we had the privilege of listening to a most instructive lecture by S. Percy Smith, Esq., founder of the Polynesian Society, on the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian race, which was printed with our fifth annual report. He has since commenced the publication of the valuable ethnological material which he collected during his recent tour through the Pacific Ocean, of which the ancient history of Rarotonga promises to be of special interest. In this history, in his opinion, we shall find a complete verifica-

tion of Fornander's Hawaiian traditions. "Until I came to put it together, "he says," I had no idea that the two stories would agree so closely. They mention a place in Oahu named "Taunau," and also say that it was called "Avaiki-nui-a-Naea," this last being the name of an ancient voyager."

In a former letter he said of this Rarotongan MS.: "I lately came across the mention of Pele, as one of the daughters of Mahuike, from whom Maui stole the fire. This is interesting as showing the knowledge of Pele in the southern groups, and to-day I hear from Mr. Young of Tahiti, who is sending us a Tahitian account of Pele's voyage to Hawaii. Several of the Hawaiian Islands are mentioned in the Rarotongan MS. as places which their ancestors made voyages to in olden times, but the names are altered to conform to the dialect, as "Ngangai" for Lanai, etc."

At a meeting of this Society held February 11th, 1898, a valuable paper was read by Mr. T. G. Thrum, which supplements and completes the paper on "Old Honolulu" left unfinished by the late Mr. Warren Goodale. These two papers will be of permanent interest and value to future historians of Honolulu. It has since been published together with a paper by Paul Neumann, Esq. on Capt. Bouchard and his visit to these islands in 1818.

While we cannot but regret the dearth of contributions from members during the past year, there is no reason to be surprised at it. "Inter arma silent leges," and it is not strange that the extraordinary events of the past year, and the far-reaching changes taking place under our eyes, should have preoccupied our minds, for the time being, to the exclusion of what is wrongly called the dead past. However this may be, our members have not been idle, and several works on Hawaiian history and ethnology may soon be expected.

It is a matter for congratulation that the Trustees of the Bernice Pauahi Museum have decided to publish from time to time a series of papers relating to Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History.

The Report of the Director, which gives an account of all the

principal Ethnological collections of the world, fills a gap in our knowledge, and has rendered an important service to all who are interested in Polynesian ethnology. I understand that it is to be followed by an elaborate illustrated paper on "Feather Work," as well as by a complete index or Directory of all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, both by the same accomplished author. It gives me pleasure to state that Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's Hawaiian Antiquities, with full supplementary notes and appendices by the translator, has been accepted by the Trustees, and will be published as one of the series.

It is to be hoped that the author will ere long follow it with his promised work on the "Polynesian Canoe." We are also informed that arrangements have been made in London for the publication of Miss Teuira Henry's long looked for History of Tahiti. Among the many books treating of a more recent period, Dr. Henry Lyman's vivid reminiscences of life in Hawaii nei during the 40s and 50s, will be of real historical value.

It is much to be desired that the Fornander collection of Hawaiian MSS., now belonging to Hon. C. R. Bishop, should be edited and published both in the original and in a translation. The same may be said of S. M. Kamakau's History, which was printed in the Kuokoa newspaper thirty years ago.

In conclusion, I think I am authorized to say that we may expect to have the privilege, at no distant day, of listening to a paper on Samoa by one who is intimately acquainted with that interesting country, the Hon. Harold M. Sewall.

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

THE MAKER OF THE HAWAIIAN FLAG.

The mystery that hangs over the origin of the Hawaiian Flag has never been entirely cleared up. I will first briefly recapitulate what has already been published on this subject. In the narrative of Capt. Golovnin, commander of the Russian sloop-of-war "Kamchatka," who visited these islands in 1818, it is stated that Kamehameha I used the British flag from the date of his treaty with Capt. Vancouver in 1794, until the outbreak of the war of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, and that then by the advice of a friendly American, he decided "to have a flag of his own, which was made for him by an Englishman." The Union Jack in the upper corner, he said, signified his friendship to England, and the stripes the number of the inhabited islands in his kingdom. Mr. Archibald Campbell, who was for several months in Honolulu in 1809, states that "the King's house, built close to the shore, and surrounded by a palisade, was distinguished by the British colors."

In 1811 the King returned to Hawaii, where he resided during the remainder of his life. Towards the end of the year 1816 Capt. Kotzebue of the Russian corvette "Rurik," found the present Hawaiian flag flying over the Honolulu fort. From the log-book of the late Capt. Alexander Adams we learn that in April 1816, after the purchase of the brig "Forester" by Kamehameha I, he entered the King's service, and he says: "I was honored on taking command, with the flag of his Majesty and a salute of eleven guns." This certainly implies that the flag already existed, and was recognized as the national ensign.

Later on, in the log of his voyage to China in the "Kaahumanu," formerly the "Forester," he mentions his calling at Waimea, Kauai, and makes the following statement: "March 12, 1817. Gave the King (Kaumualii) our ensign to hoist in lieu of the Russian, who said that it was on account of his having no other." On arriving at Canton, Capt. Adams had considerable trouble

because the Chinese authorities refused to recognize the Hawaiian flag which had never before been seen in that port.

Capt. de Freycinet, who visited these islands in August 1819, gives the following description of the flag: "The Sandwich Islands flag, such as we saw floating at Kawaihae, and over the fort at Honolulu, was composed of an English Union Jack upon a ground striped horizontally with nine bands, alternately white, red and blue; the white being placed at the top, and the Union Jack at the upper corner next to the halliards."

The flag, as since known, agrees with this description, with the omission of the bottom stripe, leaving eight stripes, which corresponds with the number of inhabited islands in the group. It seems likely that Capt. de Freycinet's memory was at fault in regard to the number of stripes in the flag.

I have lately received some additional information, which I wish to lay before the Society. Capt. George C. Beckley, an English sea-captain, who came to these islands in the early part of this century, was no doubt the maker, and in all probability the designer of the first Hawaiian flag. He brought to the Islands a vessel, which was purchased by the chiefs, and was called "Humehume" by the natives. He afterwards made numerous voyages between Hawaii and Mexico on one side and China on the other. According to the family tradition, he made the first flag in 1806 or 1807. My own opinion is that the correct date is at least six years later. Unfortunately his log-book, which might settle the question, was lost about the year 1887. It is certain that he afterwards made the original flag into a child's frock, which was worn by each one of his children in succession, and was long preserved as an heir-loom in the family.

On the occasion of the birth of the princess Nahienaena at Keauhou, Kona, Hawaii, in 1815, he was made a high chief by Kamehameha I, so that he might with impunity enter the sacred precinct, and present the royal infant with a roll of China silk, after which he went outside, and fired a salute of thirteen guns in her honor. In consequence of his having become a tabu chief,

his wife, Ahia, was thenceforth obliged by the ancient code of etiquette to "*kolokolo*" or crawl prone on hands and knees, when she entered the house of her lord.

Capt. Beckley was the first commander of the Honolulu fort, which was built in 1816. His oldest child, William Beckley, who was born at Keauhou in 1815, was brought up together with Kauikeaouli, who was afterwards known as Kamehameha III. His two oldest daughters, together with the twin daughters of Jean Rives, were brought up by Queen Kaahumanu.

I mention these facts to show the estimation in which he was held by Kamehameha I, and the probability that the King would confide to him the task of designing the new national flag. He died in Honolulu in the year 1825.

Some of the traditions regarding his wife's family are worthy of being preserved. Ahia was the daughter of Kaha, a warrior and *Kahuna Kalaiwaa* (i. e. a priest who superintended the building of canoes), and of Makaloa, daughter of Malulani (k) and of Kele-huna (w) of Puna, Hawaii.

After the battle of Nuuanu, (which was commonly called "*Kalelekaanae*," i. e. the leap of the *anae* or mullet, in derision of the poor wretches who were driven over the Pali), Kamehameha I gave him the surname of Huha. After returning to Hawaii, Kaha superintended the building of the famous "*peleleu*" fleet of war canoes in the forest back of Hilo.

Kaha's father, Kaha-kuaikea by name, was a Kohala chief, and had the honor to be *kahu* or guardian of Keliimaikai, Kamehameha's younger brother, about the middle of the last century. The tradition relates that on one occasion, when in accordance with the regulations of the tabu system, his wife was secluded in the *hale pea*, he was led by his great longing for her society, to transgress the law so far as to creep up to the tabu hut and look in. His ward, the little prince, followed him, and climbed upon his neck. Unfortunately, some of his people saw it, and raised an outcry that the prince was "*haumia*" or ceremonially polluted. In order to avert the dire consequences of this violation of tabu,

Kaha's two wives were ordered to bathe, deck themselves with "leis" or garlands, and then drink poisoned *awa*. Thus were the angry deities appeased by the sacrifice of these unoffending women, while the real culprit went scot-free.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE LAST HOURS OF KAMEHAMEHA V.

HONOLULU, H. I., August 5, 1898.

PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER,
Honolulu.

Dear Sir—By request of the Trustees of the B. P. Bishop Estate I enclose you for use by the HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, as it may see fit, two certified letter copies, one by Stephen H. Phillips, Attorney-General, and the other by Governor John O. Dominis, in regard to the wishes of Kamehameha V. expressed on his death-bed as to the appointment of his successor to the throne of the Hawaiian Islands.

Yours respectfully, A. C. LOVEKIN,
for the Secretary.

A LETTER BY THE LATE S. H. PHILLIPS, ATTORNEY- GENERAL UNDER KAMEHAMEHA V.

[Copy of a letter addressed to Hon. C. R. Bishop and reduced to writing a few hours after the death of the late Kamehameha V.]

HONOLULU, DECEMBER 11, 1872.

Sir—It is due to Mrs. Bishop, that while my memory of recent

events is fresh, I should furnish to you in a written form a statement of what occurred in the last hours of the life of His late Majesty in regard to the appointment of a successor.

I was summoned to the palace about daylight this morning, and proceeded there instantly. Upon my arrival I found the King in an apparently extreme state, and some steps had been taken towards the execution of a will by Governor Dominis. In accordance with what seemed to be a general wish, I endeavored to carry this plan into execution, and I requested Governor Dominis to write, at my dictation, what appeared to be the expressed will of His Majesty. He had written but little when the King, notwithstanding the request of many, refused to do more until he could think and rest, and all abstained for a time from further intruding upon him. After some delay, Doctor Trousseau having explained to me what he considered the extremity of the case, I tried to explain to His Majesty that if he wished to do any solemn act he should do so at once. He then called Governor Nahaolelua to his side and held a long conversation in the native language, which I did not understand. After this he called me up to him, and then said to Mrs. Bishop that he desired her to succeed to his throne. She said No. Her wish was that his sister should succeed him, and said all the rest of them would aid her. She also named Queen Emma, but His Majesty did not express assent. I then said that if His Majesty desired to express any wish on this subject it was my duty to see that he had an opportunity to do so. Mrs. Bishop said she was pleading with him in accordance with what she thought was just. At this point the King's state was such that it was necessary to clear the room, and in the interval I said to Mrs. Bishop that although I ought not to exert any influence I thought it was the King's right to have his wishes in her favor expressed in a solemn manner, and although the utmost respect was due to the delicacy of her feelings, she would understand that it was my duty to enable His Majesty to give force to his will. When the King was replaced upon his bed he was so much better that it was thought unwise to recall his

attention to the subject at once, but you are well aware how sudden the last act was, and how impossible it was to have done anything more.

I think Governor Dominis must have heard most of the conversation with Mrs. Bishop, but I cannot think of any one else who did. Earlier in the morning I understood (not very clearly) the King to object to nominating any successor.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

STEPHEN H. PHILLIPS.

Certified to as a correct copy of the original letter.

A. C. LOVEKIN.

Honolulu, August 5, 1898.

for Trustees B. P. Bishop Estate.

A LETTER BY THE LATE GOVERNOR J. O. DOMINIS.

HONOLULU, January 7, 1873.

My Dear Sir—So many unfounded rumors and misrepresentations have been circulated since the death of His late Majesty Kamehameha V, in relation to his last expressed wishes, I feel it my duty, not only to the living, but to the memory of the departed, to furnish you, in a written form, a statement of what occurred on the morning of the 11th of December last.

Before daybreak my wife and myself were sent for to the palace. On arriving thereat we found that the King was in a very critical state. Dr. Hutchinson and Dr. Trousseau were in attendance. The latter informed me there was no hope for the King's recovery. Shortly after my arrival the King was in a state to be informed of the condition he was in, and Dr. Hutchinson took the task upon himself and asked him if he had any final arrangements to make. At first the King would give no heed to the doctor, but upon

being urged he consented to have a will drawn up, and I was called, at his request, to put in writing his last wishes. I therefore stationed myself beside the bed and commenced writing his wishes, but they merely related to a few dispositions of money and real estate. At this time he was repeatedly urged to name his successor, but did not, then. Shortly after I commenced writing Mr. Phillips, the Attorney-General, came in and was beside me most of the time the King was talking. After a time the King became fatigued and expressed a desire to rest, when Mr. Phillips urged him very strongly to name his successor, but he replied rather sharply that "he wanted time to consider so important a subject and that he had been taken by surprise at the statement of the physicians, and was naturally nervous and under a great state of excitement." The King then told me to go and get my breakfast and when I returned that he and I would "sit down quietly by ourselves and arrange all these matters,"—his exact words. I went on the veranda, and in a few minutes was recalled. Mrs. Bishop was seated on the side of the King's bed; my wife, Judge Kamakau and Mr. Prendergast were standing at the head. Mrs. Brickwood and Kamaipuupaa were opposite Mrs. Bishop; Mr. Phillips stood in the mauka door near to the bed, and I stood next to Mrs. Bishop. I am thus particular in placing the different persons to show who were in a position to hear the last wishes expressed by the King. Beside those mentioned there was no person in the room near enough to the King to understand his words excepting Governor Nahaolelua, whom the King had summoned, and who was kneeling beside the bed at the King's head in front of me and next to Mrs. Bishop.

The King spoke to Nahaolelua in Hawaiian, but the sound of his voice was so indistinct that I could not understand what he said. The Governor's reply I understood, and by it was assured that the King had asked him to name his successor which he declined doing, saying that they were all his *alii*s. After this the King addressed Mrs. Bishop and said: "I wish you to take my place, to be my successor." She replied: "No, no, not me; don't

think of me, I do not need it." The King then said: "What makes this room so dark?" and looking towards the makai door said: "What are all those people doing in there?"—Lunalilo, Kalakaua, Kahanu, Makalena, Pratt, Hoffman, and perhaps some others, who I do not now remember, were standing in the room. I motioned them to go out, and Mrs. Bishop told them to go, and they went out. The King then continued: "I do not wish you to think that I do this from motives of friendship, but I think it best for my people and the nation." She again said: "Oh, no; do not think of me, there are others; there is your sister, it is hers by right." The King replied: "She is not fitted for the position." "But," Mrs. Bishop said, "we will all help her; I, my husband and your Ministers; we will all *kokua* her and advise her." The King replied: "No, she would not answer." Mrs. Bishop then said: "There is the Queen, Emma; she has been a queen once, and is therefore fitted for the position." The King replied "That she was merely queen by courtesy, having been the wife of a king." The King wishing at this time to get off the bed, we all left the room, and after that he never alluded to the subject of a successor or expressed any further wishes.

We all went to breakfast; and after breakfast, not feeling there was any immediate danger, most of the gentlemen went to the Chamberlain's house, when, at about half-past nine, the physicians were sent for in haste, and we returned to the King's chamber and remained there until his death, which took place at about twenty minutes of ten a. m.

As mentioned before, the only persons who were near enough to hear the conversation which took place between the King and Mrs. Bishop were Mr. Phillips, my wife, Judge Kamakau, Colonel Prendergast, Mrs. Brickwood, Kamaipuupaa, Governor Nahaolelua and myself—Governor Nahaolelua and Kamaipuupaa could not have understood it, the entire conversation having been carried on in the English language. The queen and Mrs. Pratt were sitting together some distance from the bed and could not possibly have understood what the King said, for, at times, when near to him,

without giving close attention, it was difficult to understand him, his speech was so indistinct. The Governess of Hawaii was seated on the floor, some distance from the bed, on the makai side.

The foregoing is a correct statement, so far as my best remembrances serve me, of what occurred in the last hours of His late Majesty, and are most respectfully submitted to, if possible, refute the many false representations which have been set afloat in reference to his last wishes, and more particularly as a matter of justice to Mrs. Bishop and the memory of the departed.

I remain, yours truly,

(Signed)

JNO. O. DOMINIS.

Certified to be a correct copy of the original letter.

A. C. LOVEKIN.

Honolulu, August 5, 1898.

for Trustees B. P. Bishop Estate.

REGARDING HO-AO, HAWAIIAN MARRIAGE.

READ BEFORE THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BY

DR. N. B. EMERSON, NOV. 29TH., 1898.

In the beautiful and significant Hawaiian myth, which represents Wakea as deserting the bed of his wife Papa, under the pretext of a tabu, in order that he may spend the hours of darkness more agreeably with his daughter Hoo-hoku-ka-lani, it is stated that daylight comes and they are still together. The priest and friend of Wakea, appreciating the trouble and sorrow which will arise from the discovery of this *liaison* between father and daughter by Madam Papa, the mother, standing before the closed door lifts up his voice, warning him that daylight has come, bidding him arise and come forth that he may avoid discovery by Papa and all the trouble and disgrace that will come of it. The

burden of his entreaty is given in this extract from the prayer of the priest.

Morning climbs the heavens.

Piled up clouds, gloomy clouds, down pours the rains,
A rush of waters. a flood;

Lightning darts, flashes in dark heavens.
Bound with a strong covenant to that one;

The curtains of night are lifted, the stars flee away,
The king's honor is dashed, all is visible in the light of day.
Awake! Lo the day is come!

The efforts of the faithful priest are not successful; Wakea sleeps on; the indiscretion of the faithless husband is discovered by the infuriated wife and mother who pours out her upbraidings on the guilty man.

The domestic ebullition that follows is no doubt well described by the imagery of the poet:

Piled up clouds, gloomy clouds, down pours the rain,
A rush of waters, a flood;
Lightning darts, flashes in the dark sky
Lightning darts, flashes in the dark heavens.

A strong picture of an outraged woman's frowns and tears and wrath. Evidently it had not been the purpose of Wakea to separate himself from his wife, the mother of his children, Hawaii and Maui and Hoo-hoku-ka-lani; but the accident of his discovery in a compromising situation after sunrise, forced him to the step which was its logical conclusion, the divorce of Papa and the taking of Hoo-hoku-ka-lani as his wife. According to one tradition the divorce was completed by Wakea's spitting in Papa's face.

In his description of the game *ume* David Malo says, "During the nights in which this game was being played the man consorted with the woman that pleased him, and the woman with the man that pleased her; and when daylight came (*a ma ke ao ana a'e*) the man rejoined his wife and the woman her husband." The language is such as to indicate that the coming of day was the signal for the temporary lovers to separate; unless indeed, by continuing in each other's company, they wished to announce their

intention to dissolve the old and take up with the new relation, an event which Malo informs us was not of infrequent occurrence.

Another instance of the use of the word *ho-ao* is to be found in the story that recounts the romantic adventures of Umi, the illegitimate son of Liloa, when, after the death of his father and the accession of Hakau to the throne, he preferred the freedom of the wilderness to life at a court where he was subjected to the insults of his half-brother Hakau, who reigned in the place of their father. Umi and his party of two young men besides himself had reached in their wanderings the borders of Hilo and concluded that it was a good place to settle down. "When it came bed-time," the story goes on to state, "the young women of the place, seeing that they were clean and wholesome-looking youths, chose them for husbands and spent the night with them." The language in Hawaiian is "*a hoao ae lakou.*" The relations thus entered into are represented as being permanent alliances.

It is not for one people to quarrel with and misrepresent the domestic institutions of another people. By an unfortunate error the word *ho-ao*, which in the ancient language of the Hawaiians signified the entering into and consummation of honorable marriage, has been confounded with another word of similar written form, but of entirely different meaning, as well as of different pronunciation, the word *ho-a'o* meaning to test, to try, to make proof of. In this last there has been the loss of a consonant, undoubtedly a *k*, the vacant place of which should by all rights be marked by an ' (apostrophe) in writing, and in speech by that well known glottic closure, with which every one who speaks the language with accuracy and scholarly intelligence does obeisance at the grave of the buried consonant. Even Andrews in his dictionary makes the mistake here pointed out, misled perhaps by a fault in his ear and the consequent failure to appreciate the force and meaning of the glottic closure, which is a frequent stumbling block in the way of a perfect acquisition of the Hawaiian language.

The word *ho-ao* is compounded of the causative *ho*, and *ao*, daylight or day, in certain connections also meaning dawn. It is not

easy to put in English the exact etymological force and meaning of this compound word *ho-ao*. The former part *ho* is to cause, to make; the final part meaning day, or daylight, the whole would naturally mean to make evident or clear, to publish. But as I understand the word it means not so much the declaration of marriage as the consummation of marriage, not so much the cohabiting *after* marriage, as Andrews puts it, as the cohabiting which constituted marriage, in distinction from that wantonness which had no such intention.

In spite of much license, the better class of the ancient Hawaiians paid great attention to the care of the morals of the youth of both sexes before marriage, to the choice of a partner of the other sex, and to the initiation of them to the marriage-bed. Among the self-respecting and decent class of people, not to say among those who were well-off, or who belonged to the *alii* class, marriage was no haphazard affair, but was planned with the greatest shrewdness and cool-headedness by the elders with a view to the social and worldly interest and advancement of the young people.

Up to this time the girl or youth, if of good family, has been under the watchful eye of the *kahu*, the guardian, than whom no duenna was required to be more strict and argus-eyed, even at the peril of life. The ancient word *hoo-palau* was used to express betrothal, or the formal engagement looking to marriage. At no time in ancient Hawaiian life was it the custom to allow that unwatched and unguarded freedom of intercourse among the youth of the two sexes that has been and still prevails in the Hawaii of to-day. We are closer to Arcadia in this respect, at the close of the nineteenth century, than the inhabitants of this archipelago were in the centuries before this one.

The parents of the young man generally took the initiative by asking the parents of the girl to allow the union, but it was not at all in bad form for the parents of the girl to suggest the match. It was not an uncommon thing for parents to betroth their children during infancy. The wishes and tastes of the young people were generally consulted, but it was not deemed necessary

for the young people to have met before the formal engagement, the *hoo-palau*, which, by the way, is a word of undoubted antiquity. Both parents were consulted in the matter, the one as much as the other; but in the case of a youth the father naturally took the lead, as he did in the education of the boy; and conversely so in the case of the girl, the mother. But in such a matter as this it goes without saying that, as in Europe and America, no rules could be laid down, no laws enforced, no custom, however well established, could be infallibly carried out, which attempted the impossible, the absolute fettering of human hearts. There was no absolute uniformity of practice; custom varied, not only from time to time, but from place to place. Arcadian freedom from constraint and the espionage of parents or of the *kahu* was less marked in Hawaii than in our modern society. The ancient Hawaiians reposed but small confidence in human nature, at least in that of boys and girls. The corner-stone of the domestic fabric was distrust. The young people did not, as a rule, visit each other, or have prolonged opportunities for conversation with each other, save in the presence of their parents or some responsible person.

When the engagement has been made, on the approach of the day fixed for the union, both parties to the transaction, to wit the relatives of the young people, take hold and make preparations for a great feast, for which purpose a large *halau*, or *lanai* is put up at some central place, preferably at the residence of the groom's parents, or, if more convenient, at the house of the bride's parents. Such a matter would not be decided by any cut and dried code, but by convenience and common sense.

On the day fixed the parents of the groom went and fetched the girl to their residence, she being accompanied on the way by her own parents. The sisters of the groom, if he had any—female cousins would count as sisters—were the ones on whom it devolved to be agreeable to the bride elect, to accompany her on the way to her new home, to wait upon her, entertain her, be nice to her. The brothers of the groom were supposed to stay at home and get things ready for the feast.

The nuptial bed was in a house by itself. If necessary to make room for their accomodation and to obtain the necessary privacy, the main building would be given up to the happy couple, the family putting up with what accomodations they could find elsewhere for the night. Everything must give way for the time to the comfort and convenience of the young people.

Not until broad day-light did the happy pair come forth from their bower, when they were saluted by the acclamations of the multitude gathered to receive them. Word had been passed around the day before that Kalua, the groom, on such a night would be joined to Wai-maka *i keia po e hoao ai*. As they come forth hand in hand they are greeted with the welcoming shouts of the multitude;—*oia la o Kalua a me Waimaka; ua hoao a noho a kane, a noho a wahine aku*,—ah, here come Kalua and Waimaka; they have been united in marriage to remain husband and wife to each other. Then they feasted and made merry all day with *hula* and *mele*. Songs in eulogy of the newly wedded pair, *mele inoa*, were in order. The act of chanting such a song was spoken of as *ha'i-ino*, to utter or call a name. As the day wore on, it would be proper for the company to retire to the ocean and indulge in surf-bathing, *hee-nalu*; or to the bank of some stream or deep pool, such as that of Kapena, that they might enjoy the cooling pastime of leaping from the high bank into the deep water. Or they might play the game of *lele-koali*, youth and maid swinging from one rope, even as Hiku and his sister did when he rescued her from the shades of *Milu* and brought her back to the world. The rude, blood-heating games were not considered suitable for such an occasion, nor any betting game. Only such games as were quiet and simply amusing were considered the correct thing at such a time. It was not considered out of the way for friends and relatives to make presents to the newly wedded pair.

The institution *ho-ao*, as above described, does not profess to be an exhaustive account of Hawaiian marriage, but only of a form, the knowledge of which has survived the wreck that came upon many things Hawaiian with the incoming of the white man. The

word *ho-ao* was one that expressed the marriage relation as deliberately entered into among the decent and order-loving people who formed the good society of those below the *alii* class. When it comes to the chiefish or *alii* class there is a different story, and the nomenclature is different. The choice of a partner for a prince or a princess was a matter of much greater moment and was accordingly hedged about with many prejudices and restrictions that happily did not fetter the common people. The discussion of that question is foreign to this evening's theme.

In attempting this account of the Hawaiian institution of *ho-ao* it was no part of my original purpose to defend or apologize for anything. My purpose in writing was historical and not controversial or polemic. But on looking over the subject I am impressed with the thought that great injustice and undeserved contumely have been heaped on the Hawaiian race by those who have had but a partial knowledge of their institutions. If what I have read before you this evening shall, in any degree, help to set in a more true light one of the ancient and honorable institutions of a people that must ever appeal strongly to the heart and sympathy of every son and daughter of Hawaiian soil, I shall feel the greater satisfaction of having accomplished a double purpose. Let us not begrudge a tardy act of justice to a people whose loving hearts have too often been the lures to their own destruction.

Honolulu, November 29, 1898.

N. B. E.

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 W. N. Armstrong, Honolulu.
 Hon. C. R. Bishop, San Francisco.
 E. P. Bond, Boston, Mass.
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Hon. James Grant Wilson, Washington, D. C.

Hon. H. M. Sewall, Honolulu.

Mons. L. Vossion, Honolulu.

*Deceased.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Baker, R. Hoapili

Helekunihi, Elias

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

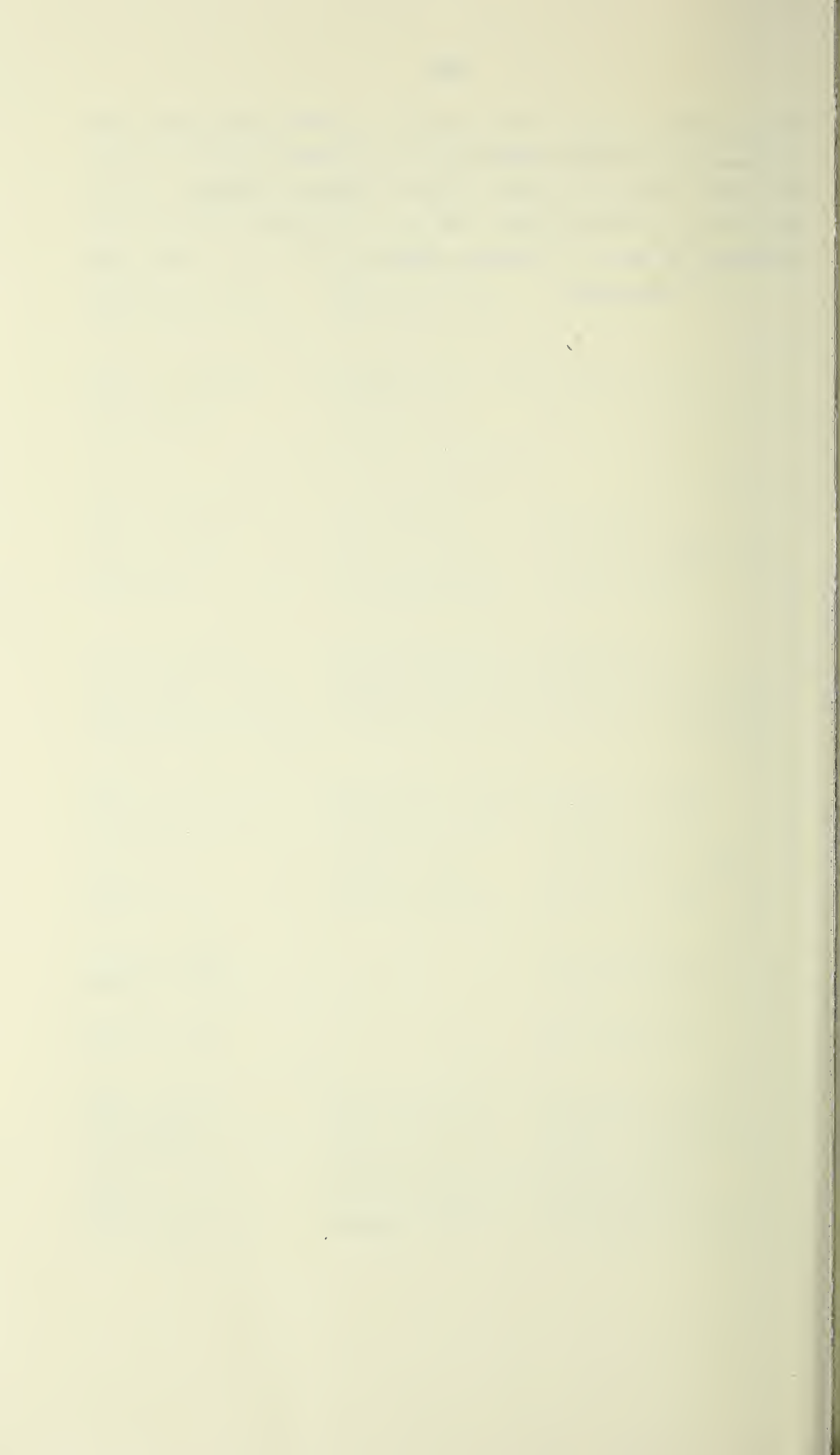
A bles, L. C.	Allen, W. F.	Andrews, Dr. G. P.
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Alexander, W. D.	Anderson, Dr. R. W.	Auld, William.
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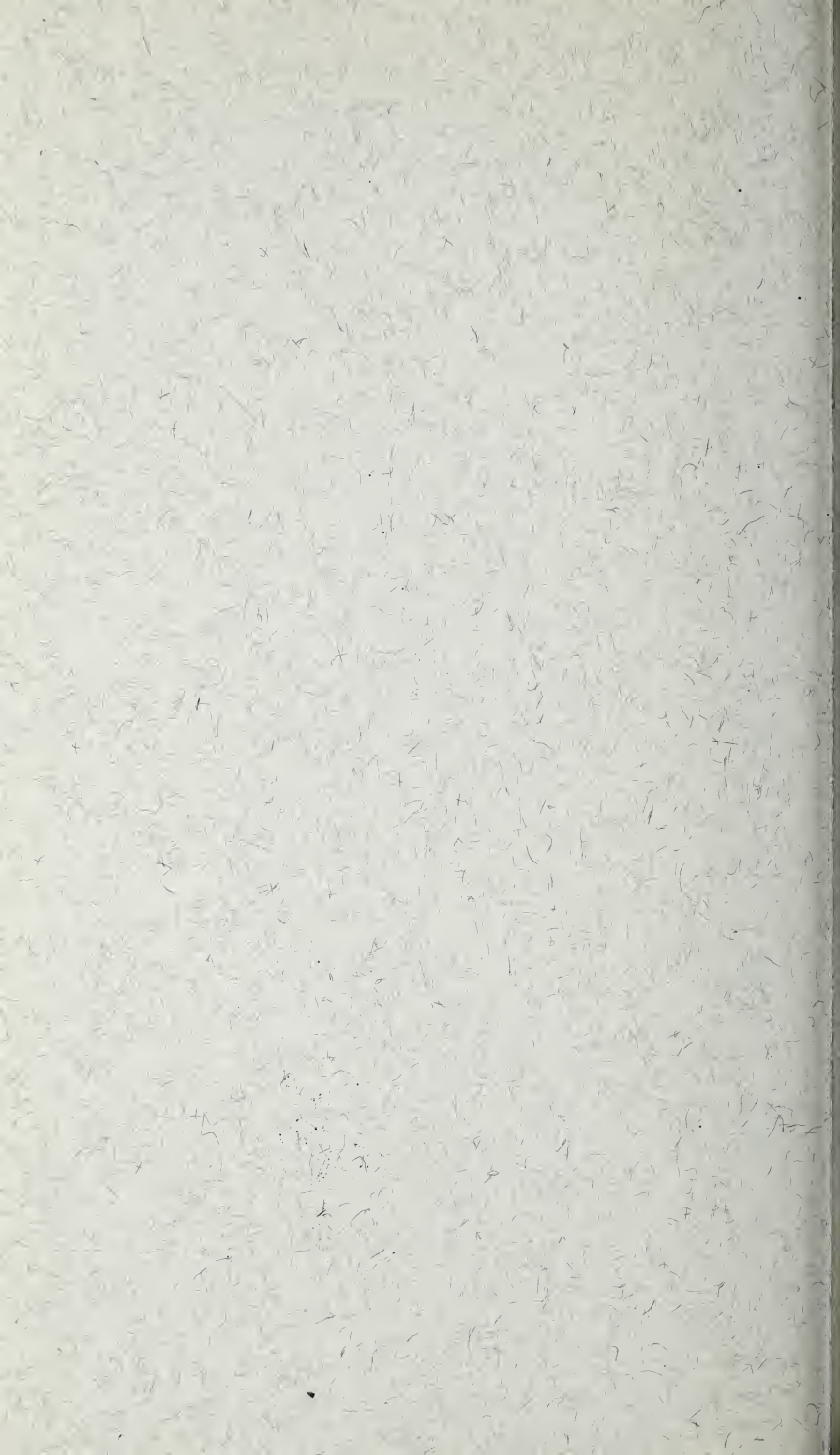
Damon, F. W.	Dickey, C. H.	Dole, Hon. S. B.
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Day, Dr. F. R.	Dillingham, B. F.	Dowsett, J. I.*
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Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wilcox, W. L.	Wright, W. H.
Whitney, H. M.	Williams, Chas.	

*Deceased.





**SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT**

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

WITH A PAPER ON THE PARTITION OF SAMOA,
AND THE PAST RELATIONS BETWEEN THAT
GROUP AND THE UNITED STATES, BY
HON. H. M. SEWALL.

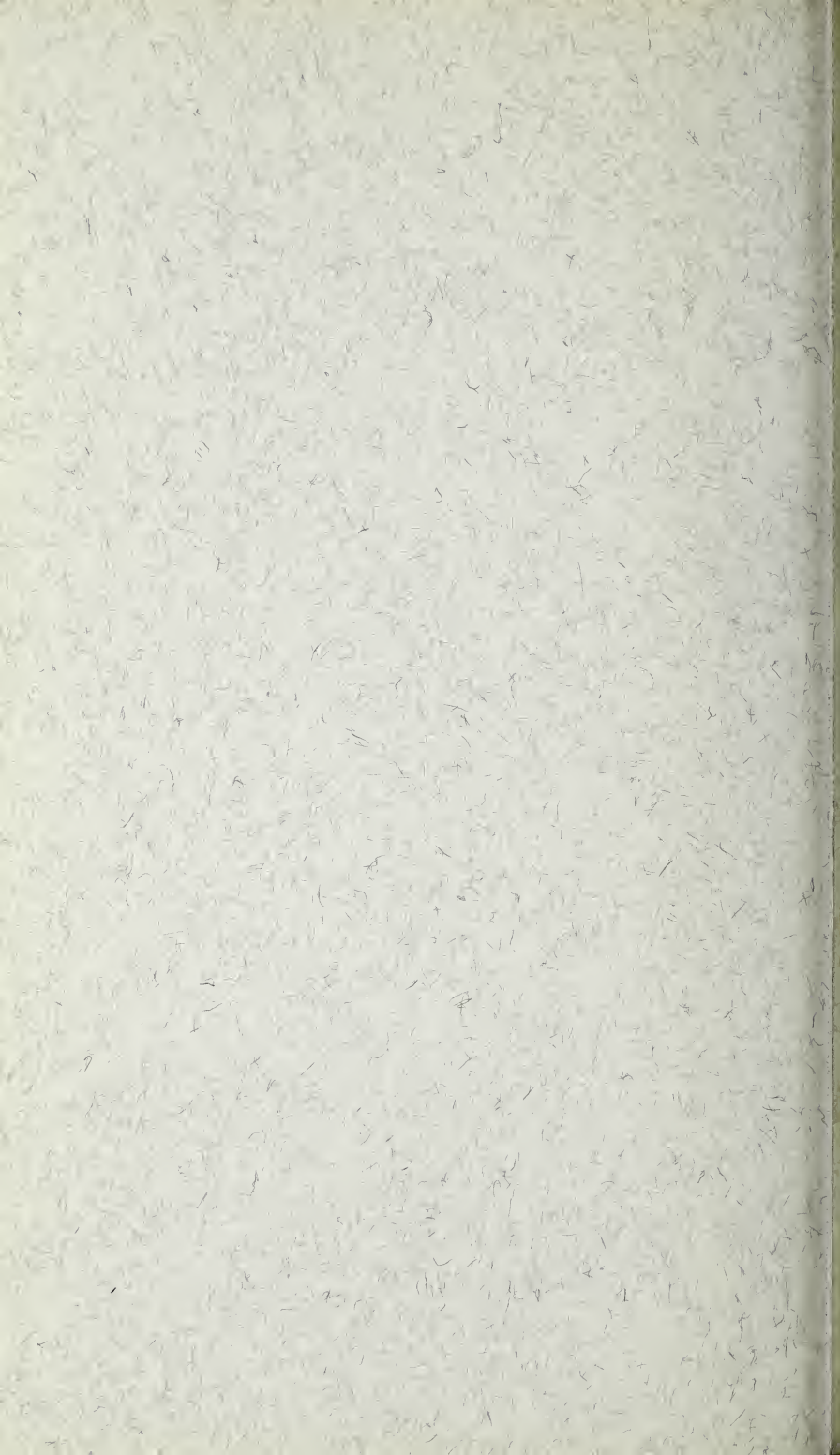
HONOLULU, H. T.

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1900.

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1978

OFFICERS, 1900.

PRESIDENT.....	N. B. EMERSON
VICE-PRESIDENT.....	S. B. DOLE
“ “	W. F. ALLEN
“ “	H. M. SEWALL
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....	W. D. ALEXANDER
RECORDING SECRETARY.....	W. F. FREAR
TREASURER.....	MISS M. A. BURBANK
LIBRARIAN.....	MISS M. A. BURBANK

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11TH, 1900.

The adjourned Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the house of its Vice-President, Hon. Harold M. Sewall, on the evening of May 11th, 1900.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, who made some pertinent remarks, urging that more interest should be taken in the objects of the Society, whose work was becoming more valuable every year. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read by Miss Burbank, the acting secretary, and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander, then read his annual report, after which, the Librarian, Miss Burbank, read her report. In the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. J. S. Emerson read her report, which showed the receipts for the year 1899 to have been \$264.53—expenditures \$256.35—available funds \$346.43

The Treasurer called attention to the fact that the Librarian, although she had been voted a salary of one hundred dollars per annum, had drawn nothing for the past three years. She recommended a vote of thanks for her consideration in this matter and asked the Society to set aside a sum out of the surplus as a payment to the Librarian for her efficient services. The reports were all accepted and ordered to be printed, the recommendations made by the Treasurer were adopted, and the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer were appointed a committee with power to settle with the Librarian.

Mr. W. F. Allen having introduced a motion to amend Article 5th of the Constitution, so that it would read that "the annual meeting shall be held on or about November 28th," instead of "on November 28th," the motion was seconded and accepted, to be finally acted upon at the next meeting. Upon the nomination of Mr. Sewall, Major Robert Emmett of New York was elected a non-resident member, and on the nomination of Dr. Emerson, Mr. W. R. Hoare, H. B. M.'s Consul, was elected a resident member.

The members present elected the following officers for the coming year:

N. B. EMERSON,	President
S. B. DOLE,	1st Vice-President
W. F. ALLEN,	2d "
H. M. SEWALL,	3d "
W. D. ALEXANDER,	Corresponding Secretary
W F FREAR,	Recording Secretary
MISS M. A. BURBANK,	Treasurer and Librarian

The President then introduced Hon. H. M. Sewall, who read a highly interesting and instructive paper on "The Partition of Samoa and the Past Relations of that Group with Hawaii and the United States," which was listened to with rapt attention and received with much applause.

On motion of W. D. Alexander the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Sewall, and he was asked for a copy of the lecture to be published with our transactions. On motion the meeting adjourned.

W. F. ALLEN,

Acting Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I herewith submit the Treasurer's report for the year ending November 28, 1899. It seems to be increasingly difficult to collect the annual dues, from which, I fear, that the interest taken in our Society is decreasing. With the approval of Prof. W. D. Alexander, I have erased from the Collection book the names of most of those members in arrears for three years and more, the collector having reported that he had repeatedly asked them for their dues, and been refused. Several members have withdrawn, so that the number of members at present is not over 137, of whom only about seventy have paid their dues for this year.

I should like to call the attention of the Society to the fact that the Librarian has received no salary for two or three years. She informs me that at first, knowing the Society to be somewhat impoverished by the purchase of Freycinet's reports, she omitted to draw the sum of One Hundred Dollars voted as her annual salary, and that since that time, as the accounts show, she has never drawn her salary.

I should like to move a vote of thanks for her consideration in this matter, and to ask the Society if a certain sum out of the \$300 available on hand cannot be set aside as a present to the Librarian for her very efficient services.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

RECEIPTS.

By balance on hand, November 28, 1898.....	\$	2	43
Members' dues collected		144	00
Interest on Government bond.....		120	00
Sale of pamphlets.....			50
			<hr/>
	\$	266	93

EXPENDITURES.

To cash paid Miss Corney for filing papers.....	\$ 102 50
To cash paid Janitor's salary... ..	12 00
To cash paid Janitor for poisoning shelves.....	30 00
To cash paid for postage.....	2 75
To cash paid wrappers & addressing pamphlets.	2 10
To cash paid printing Reports	37 75
To cash paid printing and binding receipt books	4 50
To cash paid Bernard Quaritch, bill Jan. 5, '99.	9 75
To cash paid Bernard Quaritch.....	1 05
To cash paid commission on collections.....	3 95
To cash deposited in Postal Savings Bank.....	50 00
To cash balance on hand	10 58
	<hr/>
	\$ 266 93

AVAILABLE FUNDS.

Balance on hand.....	\$ 10 58
Balance in Savings Bank.....	275 85
Interest due on bonds	60 00
	<hr/>
Total available funds.....	\$ 346 43

DOROTHEA EMERSON,

Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN:—

The additions to the Library of the Society during the past year have been few. The following books have been purchased, viz., “The Languages of the Indian Archipelago,” by J. R. Logan; “Studies in Ancient History,” by John Ferguson McLennan; “Brown Men and Women of the South Sea Islands in 1895 and 1896,” by Edward Reeves; “Old New Zealand, a Tale of the Good Old Times,” by a Pakeha Maori, with an introduction by the Earl of Pembroke; and “Our Maories,” by Lady Martin.

Some books have also been sent as exchanges from other Historical Societies. The work of filing old papers is being carefully attended to, and it is hoped that before long all valuable contributions of papers, pamphlets and clippings will be in such a condition that they may be readily consulted.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK,

Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1899.

It seems to be expected of the Corresponding Secretary of this

Society to render an Annual Report on things in general relating to Polynesian archæology. I cannot help referring here to the great loss sustained by the Society in the death of Rev. C. M. Hyde, D.D., its Recording Secretary, who took a deep interest in the objects of the Society, of which he was one of the founders, and who was an indefatigable worker in the rich field of Hawaiian ethnology.

At a meeting of the Society held at the residence of J. B. Atherton, Esq., July 21, 1899, an interesting lecture on Modern Samoa was given by our Corresponding member, Lieut. W. E. Safford, U.S.N. We may hope before long to receive from him a synopsis of that lecture in suitable form for publication. We also hope to receive from time to time contributions relating to the ethnology, folk-lore, etc., of Guam, where he is stationed, as well as of the rest of the Ladrões.

A work on the Caroline Islands by Mr. F. W. Christian, well known here, has just appeared in London, which is said to contain the results of his researches in regard to the mysterious ruins on Bonabe, but no copy of the work has yet come to hand.

The occupation of Manila by the forces of the United States may lead to interesting discoveries in the archives of the old Spanish convents in that city, not only in relation to the history of the Philippines, but also in regard to the voyages made by the Spanish galleons during the 16th and 17th centuries, and the discoveries made by them. Perhaps the log of the second voyage of Juan Gaetano across the Pacific Ocean in 1555, during which he is believed to have discovered these Islands, may yet come to light.

We desire to call attention to the valuable series of papers by S. Percy Smith, Esq., which is now appearing in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and which contains the valuable materials which he collected during his tour through the Southern Pacific in the year 1898.

The Trustees and the Director of the Bishop Museum may well be congratulated on the beautiful and elaborate monograph on "Feather Work," which they published last year.

We understand that it will be soon followed by a complete Index or Directory of all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, also by Prof. W. T. Brigham. We shall now look for the publication of Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities," which has become the property of the Bishop Museum.

As was stated in a former report, it is very desirable that the Fornander collection of Hawaiian M.S.S. which is now the property of Hon. C. R. Bishop, should be edited and published both in the original and in a translation. In time to come, either the Government of the Territory of Hawaii or this Society should print and thus preserve from oblivion, the old archives of the Hawaiian Government, say from 1820 to 1845, which contain much material that is extremely interesting.

Unfortunately we have no fund to employ for such objects.

We cannot but deplore the dearth of contributions during the past year, but we still hope to hear from Rev. S. Desha, Mr. M. Nakuina, and other *kamaainas*. The ex-Queen has rendered a real service to students of Hawaiian folk-lore by the publication of her translation of the ancient chant of "Kumulipo," and has thereby set a praiseworthy example to her countrymen. The cycle of legends and poetry connected with Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele are worthy of being preserved, and I understand that our President has taken the subject in hand.

Some of younger members are investigating the subject of the picture writings discovered on the rocks at Koloa, Kauai, near Koko Head and elsewhere, and it is to be hoped that they may succeed in throwing some light on their origin and significance.

Now is the time to rescue from oblivion what little can be recov-

ered of the traditions of the olden time, before the rush and glare of the Twentieth Century shall have completely blotted out of the sight and knowledge of the new generation *ka wa kahiko o Hawaii nei*.

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Corresponding Secretary.

PART OF A PAPER

ON THE

PARTITION OF SAMOA AND THE PAST RELATIONS BETWEEN
THAT GROUP AND THE UNITED STATES, READ BEFORE
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1900, BY
HON. H. M. SEWALL.

When in May, 1886, and not the first time in the history of those troubled and, to the powers concerned, those troublesome Islands, the flag of the U. S. was raised over Samoa, there followed what usually follows the unauthorized, but timely and courageous action of an American representative at a distant post; the recall of that representative, the disavowal of his action, the sending of a Commission to report, the appointment of new officials all around, and then a repetition of history.

The history of the foreign relations of Samoa is full of such repetitions. I only refer to this one by way of introduction. For these events led to the Washington Conference on Samoan Affairs which met June 25, 1887, to which the Berlin Conference on the same subject two years later, the framer of the Tripartite Agreement known as the Berlin Act which has now been dissolved, followed as a part and natural sequence. And it is due to these events, that as the successor of the zealous if erratic Consul whose action had cost him his official head, I learned for the first time, outside of the State Department, through Mr. Carter the Hawaiian Minister at Washington, of political conditions in the comparatively unknown Islands to the Chiefs and Rulers of which I was accredited, and of the relations to these Islands which Hawaii in its new born Polynesian policy, proposed to bear.

At a time already trying, the burden of this loyal and efficient Hawaiian representative had been increased distressingly by the

inauguration of this policy, the despatch of an embassy and mimic man-of-war to Apia, followed by a Treaty of Confederation and his own appointment by the farcial and illy recognized Government and King of Samoa as their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the American capital. To add to these tangled diplomatic relations the dismissed American Consul on his unauthorized return to his former post, had while, at Honolulu imposed on the credulity of Mr. Creighton, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and secured the appointment as Hawaiian Vice-Consul. Assuredly the complex local situation at Apia was destined to become more so in its every ramification.

To a man less determined than Mr. Carter, whose whole mind was fixed upon the ratifications of the Reciprocity Treaty (which ratifications were not exchanged until November 1887) and to secure which the course must be kept free from all embarrassment, these events would have been disheartening. It must not be forgotten either that the King and Gibson, who had succeeded Creighton as Foreign Minister, were strenuously opposed to the clause of that Treaty ceding Pearl Harbor to the United States, while it had long been evident to Carter that without this clause, the ratification of the Convention extending the Treaty could not be had.

Upon reaching Honolulu on the way to my post, Mr. Gibson and afterwards the King, restated, but at greater length, what Mr. Carter had said to me on the subject of the mission to Polynesia and in the same somewhat apologetic strain. They both, but especially the Minister dwelt upon the fact that the proposed relations of Hawaii with the South Sea groups were of a mild and benevolent nature, that Hawaii had had a similar mission to these Islands before, and that as regards Samoa, years ago missionaries of the Mormon Church had gone from here to proselyte there.

This interview with Kalakaua and the attractive genius who would have been a notable figure in any land, dwells pleasantly in memory, and it was the recollection of this, and my later

acquaintance in Samoa with the Embassy which had just left, that led me, some time ago to promise this Society a paper on the "Recent relations of Hawaii with Samoa, and other Pacific Groups." But the rapidly following and startling events in Samoa, the abrogation of the Berlin Act, and the partition of that Group, as well as the Union of Hawaii with the United States warrant, I feel, the subordination of the originally chosen topic to a larger one. Without omitting Hawaii's relations with Samoa, therefore, I invite you tonight to a consideration of the extinction of this last surviving sovereignty in the Pacific, of the value to the United States of our rights under the new arrangement, and of the varied, the dramatic and unparalleled relations of Samoa with that country of which Hawaii is happily at last a part.

In the negotiations and events above briefly referred to, leading up to the Berlin Act, (I do not count American relations with Hawaii which stand apart), the United States appeared for the first time as a World power in the Pacific. It was by these that she broke from that "international isolation" which Richard Olney, (whose short service in the State Department embraces the only achievement in our foreign policy during the entire eight years of Cleveland's Administration), defined as an ignominious "shirking of the responsibilities of high place and great power." Insignificant in commercial value Samoa may be, and may be destined to remain, but America's relations with her will hold a distant and conspicuous place in history as a precursor of that policy which yet awaits a fit denomination, that policy of taking our part in the affairs of the World even though this involve, and by war so repugnant to our people, taking part of the World itself, a policy which seems to have been forced upon us but which duty has led us unfalteringly to accept. Whether or not, the abrogation of the Berlin Act and our share in the resulting partition is a progressive or a retrograde step in that policy, does not so much matter. The relations we are to consider, as the first departure from traditions which had hitherto bound us, will mark the real

beginning of this policy and once begun as it has begun, it will be steadily, thoughtfully and patriotically pursued.

The history of American relations with Samoa is to be divided into three periods:

1. That preceding our first treaty.
2. That from this treaty to the joint Act of Berlin.
3. The period since.

The departure from traditions was not as has been commonly represented for the purpose of discrediting the Berlin Act, to be dated from the Act itself, which was the natural result of our intervention in Samoa for over twenty years.

Our naval flag was first borne thither by Wilkes in 1839. He framed a set of commercial regulations signed by the first Malietoa and his chiefs, the first laws promulgated to his people.

In 1872 Commander R. W. Meade received from the chief of Pago Pago, a grant to the United States of the exclusive privilege of establishing a naval station in that harbor. Whether or not this operated as a grant "*In praesenti*" is arguable. As an agreement with the Chief, it was never ratified by the Senate.

The following year a special agent and investigator, Steinberger, was instructed by President Grant to proceed to Samoa, being charged in particular to secure information regarding Pago Pago.

Steinberger is the most interesting character among all the foreign officials who have figured in Samoa's history. In natural gifts, powers of persuasion, influence with natives, and apparent devotion to their interests, he may be called the Gibson of Samoa. And they both were alike in that their lives closed amid clouds and in the utter collapse of the plans upon which their hopes were centred.

Steinberger established a Government and created a distinct impression in the native mind that the United States had established a protectorate. In all this, he exceeded his instructions.

On his return to Washington, Steinberger brought with him numerous petitions praying for annexation.

The prayers of their petitions the President certainly did not grant. But the circumstances of Steinberger's return to them, and the words used by the President in his reply, justified the belief among the Samoans, to which they clung with a persistence which cost the late King and his followers much tribulation and sorrow, that the United States had a peculiar interest in their political future which they and foreign powers were bound to respect.

Through the jealousy of British and German traders and the connivance of the United States Consul, a personal enemy, Steinberger was deported on a British man-of-war.

Steinberger's vicissitudes never eradicated the impression he had made on the Samoan mind.

His mission, abortive as it was, in the purpose he had in view, prevented for the time the absorption of Samoa by any other power, just as Meade's unratified treaty kept Pago Pago open for us to gain six years later, by unequivocal cession.

Second. The period from the treaty to the joint Act of Berlin.

With the deportation of Steinberger, Samoa relapsed into internal strife. Twice in the period I have described, our flag was raised to avert for the time seizure by the other powers, and having served this purpose was withdrawn. And from necessity, and with the approval of their superiors, our Consuls and naval officers continued to take part in the political affairs of the Islands, arranging agreements of peace between the native factions and joining with the representatives of the other powers in the agreement for the municipal government of Apia.

Our constant intervention in Samoa was now to become accentuated.

In 1885 began that series of German aggressions which led directly to the Berlin Agreement.

Every act of these met the protest of the United States representative.

The German Consul General attacked Malietoa's sovereign rights and hauled down his flag within the Municipality. Finally, when the appearance of a German squadron at Apia threatened the seizure of the Islands, our Consul upon application of the King, raised the American flag over the Samoan, and without doubt defeated this purpose.

Secretary Bayard immediately disavowed this act, recalled the author of it, and June 1, 1886 proposed a conference at Washington.

It was at this juncture that Hawaii became a factor in the international situation with results well nigh serious to her, as they were important to the powers in treaty with her.

How long previously, Gibson had been meditating his Polynesian policy does not appear. Prof. Alexander states that in 1883, the year of Kalakaua's coronation, Capt. Tripp and F. L. Clarke were sent as royal Commissioners to the Gilbert Islands and New Hebrides, and a parody on the "Monroe doctrine" was put forth in a grandiloquent protest addressed to all the great powers, warning them against any further annexation in the Pacific ocean, and claiming for Hawaii the exclusive right "to assist them in improving their political and social condition."

In January, 1886, Gibson outlines his plans to Carter. Assurances were to be sought from the European Powers that the recent annexations in the Pacific would be the last. As to Hawaii's part, she sought nothing for herself. Should anything in regard to their foreign relations be deemed desirable by the independent communities of Polynesia, the hegemony of such union would naturally fall to Hawaii. H. M.'s Government were prepared to undertake the work of negotiations to secure separate recognition of their independence.

This certainly reads like the plan of a high and unselfish mind. Here was no forcible annexation, or annexation at all, against which the anti-imperialists of today inveigh.

It is a probable, however, that this expression of Hawaii's purposes was tempered somewhat to meet the situation, and that the part marked out for Hawaii was made only as prominent as seemed feasible. Already, Gibson must have been aware of the obstacles he was likely to meet, both at home and abroad. If he was not then, he was shortly to become so. And we find him, therefore, from the first (as we have seen), assuming an attitude rather of defense by which he sought to excuse his contemplated policy on the ground of historical precedent, and of reiterated requests for Hawaii's aid and intercession.

In a letter to Carter the February following, he refers in detail to "the more important applications that have been made to Hawaii for advice, for help or actual annexation," enumerating the cession of the Stewart group in 1863; the recognition of the Steinberger Government in Samoa (1875) a petition for annexation from the chiefs and old men of the Island of Tapiteuea (Gilberts) 1878, a request for recognition and a treaty of amity and friendship (1880), and a proposition of cession from the chiefs of Butaritari and Apaiang (Gilberts) 1882.

In the above resume of Polynesian relations, the reference to the Stewart Island cession is the most interesting, as it recalls the first and the most notable, until the Samoan mission, efforts in this direction.

I have never heard from anybody who knew the two, a comparison suggested between the two most remarkable occupants of the Hawaiian Foreign Office. But in the State papers on this subject there is a striking resemblance between those of Robert Crichton Wyllie and Walter Murray Gibson. Certainly the mission of Bush, Kalakaua's "Envoy Extraordinary to the Courts of Samoa and Tonga and High Commissioner to the High Chiefs and Peoples of Polynesia," found its prototype in that of St Julien, their Majesties, the III. and IV. Kamehameha's "Political Commissioner and Commissioner and Commercial Agent to the Independent ruling chiefs of the Islands, and Archipelagoes of

Southern Polynesia." We have seen with what an unselfish purpose Hawaii entered upon her new policy, as unfolded by Kalakaua's Prime Minister. Compare this with Wyllie's reply to St. Julien's letter conveying the articles of convention executed at Sydney February 10th, 1855, between St. Julien and John Webster, styled "the Sovereign Chief and Proprietor of the Group of Islands in the Stewart Islands, " which ceded to the Hawaiian King all Webster's rights of sovereignty and proprietorship. Wyllie writes that the consideration of the cession had been postponed by resolution of the King and Privy Council, which resolution directed the Foreign Minister to have communication with the Bible and Missionary Societies of the Kingdom on the subject of making efforts for the moral and religious improvement of the people of the Stewart Islands. * "You are to understand," Wyllie writes, "that the King, having only recently escaped the danger of annexation for his own Kingdom, has no desire to apply the principle to the territory or others, but his Majesty most ardently desires to extend education, christianity and civilization among the barbarous tribes of Polynesia." On March 4, 1856, Wyllie notifies St. Julien that on the 29th ult., the King resolved to accept the sovereignty of the Stewart Islands, but solely for the good of the natives, and without expecting any revenue from them, or incurring any pecuniary or political responsibility on their account. All this Wyllie adds, is to be put into the articles "clear and explicit and to be explained to the natives." With the vague and uncertain terms of this letter it is intimated in a letter from Creighton, Foreign Minister, August 4, 1886, St. Julien was dissatisfied, and it is not known whether his representative ever took any action looking to an exercise of his sovereign or proprietary rights. As confirming the strength of the historical parallel to Bush's mission, it is to be noted that in this letter, Creighton, while expressing regret that no definite action was taken regarding the Stewart Island cession, writes: "A new departure in the policy of the Government has been taken, and the Powers having interests in Pacific waters have been informed of this change of

policy. Of course it follows lines laid down broadly at the time St. Julien's commission issued, and independence (dependence)? must be had upon moral rather than upon material force." Compare also this letter with the letter of Gibson to Carter, announcing the commissioning of Bush January 8, 1887. "His Majesty feels that this course now taken, is on his part a solemn duty, which on account of the opportunities he and Hawaii enjoy, he owes to his brother chiefs of Polynesia, whose islands should not remain in the position of being mere waifs to be seized upon by the first strong hand that is stretched out to take them."

Before considering the history of the Samoan mission, let us look at the situation in which Hawaii, by the events of this period, was placed in its relations to the United States, and other Powers, for these were to give this mission an importance its authors never dreamed of. No time more unpropitious could have been chosen. Recent events had fixed on Samoa the attention of the three treaty Powers, and the conference then about to open at Washington had been agreed to on the basis of the maintenance of the status quo. Germany ever watchful and ever suspicious of America's designs on Samoa, and even then contemplating her coup d'etat there in the event of failing to have her own way at the conference, professed to find in Bush's mission an attempt by the United States to gain an advantage in the situation. American supremacy in Hawaii was of course acknowledged, and ultimate annexation foreseen. The trend of events was emphasized by the pending ratification of the convention extending the treaty of 1875. Germany saw in the cession clause of this treaty and the Hawaii mission to Samoa, the Eagle poising over Hawaii with one claw in Pearl Harbor and the other stretched out to strike into the vitals of Samoan sovereignty. And to her mind the fact that the American representative at Apia had been charged with Hawaiian Consular duties, and that the first result of Bush's mission had been the appointment by Malietoa of the Hawaiian Minister at Washington as his Samoan Majesty's representative there, confirmed this view. But Bismarck's application to Bayard

of the standard of his own diplomacy, was as ludicrous as it was unjust. For, judged by that standard, Bayard was but a babe. A gentleman without fear and without reproach, Bayard carried into official intercourse the high rules that governed his intercourse with his friends. Deception was an art unknown to him, and his saddest experiences in his diplomatic career resulted from his taking his fellow diplomats at their word, when the world knows, and it is the world's fault that it is so, that the true diplomat does this only at his peril.

To return to the Samoan mission, the position of Carter at Washington must have been anything, but enviable.

Although Gibson professed the utmost solicitude lest the United States should not look with favor on his plans, he displayed the greatest jealousy at any attempt to increase America's influence and position in Hawaii. He even instructed Carter to ascertain if she would relinquish her claims to Midway Is., in H. M.'s favor. As regards the Pearl Harbor cession Gibson seems to have been almost bitter, and instructed Carter "that an arrangement to grant exclusive rights to the use of any harbor to the United States, or indeed to any power whatsoever, is one which cannot be entertained by this country, no matter what the form of words in which the proposition may be placed before us."

To carry out such instructions, to remain loyal to his convictions and his sovereign at the same time, must have been no easy task, and if his own good sense did not lead him to anticipate the opposition the Samoan mission was to assure, he was not long to be kept in ignorance.

As was to be expected, the first note of disapprobation was sounded by the British Foreign Office, another instance without doubt where Downing Street received its inspiration, if not its orders, from the Wilhelmstrasse. On the 23rd of January, 1887, Gibson informs Carter that Wodehouse, the British Commissioner at Honolulu, requests that no interference be made by Hawaii in the affairs of Samoa.

Meanwhile, the preparation for the mission had gone merrily ahead, and on the 22nd of December Bush received his commission. His instructions recited at length the views we have seen already expressed. His mission was described "as one of friendship and courtesy from one Polynesian monarch to another." As gifts, Bush was to have been the bearer, but the insignia was delayed, of the "Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Star of Oceanica," an order specially instituted to decorate the kings and chiefs of Polynesia, and those who may have contributed to the welfare and advancement of Polynesian communities. Bush was also to present the Samoan monarch with a carriage and pair of horses.

Bush was instructed if, after consideration of existing circumstances, he found this expedient, to express to Malietoa regret that any portion of his subjects should be in rebellion against him, and also the solicitude with which H. M. regards the recent intervention of foreign powers in the affairs of Samoa. "He was cautioned to have it understood by the expressions that they involve no pledges on the part of H. M.'s government to render any assistance." And then followed the important point. "If, however, in response to these private and confidential assurances of His Majesty's sympathy, any advances or proposals should come from King Malietoa pointing to such an alliance between Hawaii and Samoa as would give to the former a right to speak authoritatively to foreign powers on behalf of the independence of Samoa, you are to express your belief that such an alliance or confederation of the two countries, if made close enough to render them but one state in their relations to foreign powers, will meet with acceptance here, and you will please encourage the Government of Samoa to make such proposition directly to H. M. through you or by an envoy from King Malietoa, and you are also at liberty to do all in your power to assist in formulating such a proposition privately, but not officially." The question of the extent of the rebellion was one of the utmost importance, and Bush was advised to devote much attention and some portion of the funds of

the mission to its unravelment. It was suggested that he might act as a peacemaker. This whole question was treated with the skill of a master hand. It was indeed a subject which required delicate treatment both in the instructions and on the spot. For it was well known that Germany was behind Tamasese, and it would not do to offend so great a power by inquiring into her official conduct. On the other hand, such inquiry must not give rise to suspicion on Malietoa's part "that the friendly and outspoken recognition which King Kalakaua has given him is in the slightest degree hesitating or insincere."

Bush's further course was to depend on the result of the Samoan mission.

His instructions were, it will be seen, well framed for the purpose he had in view, and certainly beyond criticism in temper and tone.

Gibson had wisely dispatched his envoy before the gathering storm clouds burst, and meanwhile he was conducting negotiations for the purchase of a vessel to follow him. It appears that it was hoped such a vessel might be obtained as a gift. On the 19th of January, 1887, Gibson writes to Hoffnung, Charge at London, that H. M. had written to Lord Charles Beresford proposing the purchase of a British gunboat of the "Satellite" class, "a hope is entertained that His Lordship and other members of the British Admiralty may see in the royal request an opportunity to assist the Government of Hawaii with a serviceable vessel at a nominal cost, or as a gift to His Hawaiian Majesty." A month later Gibson notifies Bush of the purchase of the "Explorer," to be fitted out as a training ship for the Reformatory School boys, to carry six guns and two gatling guns. Her establishment was to consist of 63 officers and men. On the same date Gibson also writes that H. M. proposes to send a church and school house to Samoa, and a Hawaiian teacher and preacher. The United States Minister at Honolulu was informed that the total expense of the vessel when ready for sea, including the original cost, \$20,000,

would amount to \$35,000. As a matter of fact, this 170-ton vessel cost \$50,000 before she got out of port.

On his arrival at Apia, Bush proceeded energetically to his task, and was able to report officially a cordial reception by Malietoa, and soon after "even his willingness to favorably consider a plan for confederation with material assistance to King Malietoa, if such plan seemed desirable to the Samoans." Privately Bush writes to his sovereign in a way that casts an interesting sidelight on the negotiations. Under date of Jan. 27, 1887, he writes :

"A week after we had removed into our new quarters, we had the honor of entertaining H. M. Malietoa and his cabinet and officials. This affair was, under the circumstances, a success, although, as Your Majesty is fully aware from your own experience abroad, expensive. * * * After our menu had been disposed of, we settled down to wine and speeches, and I pointed out the advantages of confederation, and I ventured to put forward that I firmly believed Your Majesty's Government could be induced to assist him pecuniarily with a salary of \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year." These negotiations were brought to a successful conclusion on the 17th of February, and the treaty was ratified and proclaimed at Honolulu on the 21st of March.

By this treaty Malietoa freely and voluntarily bound himself "to enter into a political confederation with H. M. Kalakaua," etc. The ratification by Kalakaua followed the same language, but with this saving clause, "subject to the obligations which H. M. Malietoa may be under to those foreign powers with which he and the people of Samoa and the Government thereof have at this time any treaty relations, enjoying and promising our royal word," etc.

Copies of the document were forwarded to Carter at Washington for the information of the United States and of Germany. He was instructed to announce that Tonga and the Hervey, Ellice

and Gilbert Islands would be invited to join the proposed confederation.

The saving clause in the treaty was inserted, doubtless, because of intimations that could not be misunderstood. Germany had signified that she would tolerate no interference by Hawaii in Samoa. Thus two months before the departure of the "Kaimiloa," the mission to Samoa had practically collapsed.

Nevertheless, Gibson went ahead, addressing through Carter the Treaty Powers on the subject. Bismarck did not conceal that he regarded the Hawaiian action as one of impertinence. Lord Salisbury, who would gladly have been rid of the whole question, continued complaisant to Germany, and even though this must lead to German annexation. As for Bayard, he could do nothing else than accept Germany's benevolent assurances, and professedly at least, to hope for the security of Samoan independence through the co-operation then undertaken by the three powers, and therefore politely to discourage the mission of Bush and the "Kaimiloa."

It is a strange fact of Hawaiian history that the one great power with which Hawaii has ever been at peace at home and by which she has never been there threatened or molested, although the commercial interests of the citizens of that Power are scarcely second to any in the Islands, should have made the Samoan mission almost a "casus belli." Stevenson aptly described the German attitude: "The Germans looked on from the first with natural irritation that a Power of the powerlessness of Hawaii should thus profit by its undeniable footing in the family of nations, and send embassies and make believe to have a navy and bark and snap at the heels of the great German Empire."

It is not too much to say that so seriously did the Germans regard the Hawaiian action that only the suspicion that in some way the United States was really involved in the mission, prevented the German captain from blowing the "Kaimiloa" out of the water. And it is probable that this is what would have actu-

ally happened at the time of the declaration of war against Malietoa had the "Kaimiloa" been still at Apia. For in Bismarck's dispatch in which he instructs the German Minister at Washington to notify Bayard of the intended action against Malietoa, he makes the threat distinctly. After ascribing to the "uncalled-for intermeddling of the Hawaiian Government the disturbed condition of affairs in Samoa," Bismarck goes on to say: "In case Hawaii, whose King acts according to financial principles which it is not desirable to extend to Samoa, should try to interfere in favor of Malietoa, the King of the Sandwich Islands would thereby enter into a state of war with us."

By the middle of April, German hostility was made painfully apparent. On April 16th Gibson writes Bush: "Germany does recognize Tamasese as equal in authority to Malietoa," and on the 7th of May to Carter: "I have just seen a copy of a dispatch addressed by the German Foreign Minister to Lord Salisbury expressing the hope that the Government of Her Majesty will not consent that Hawaii take part in the proposed conference at Washington," and to Bush to the same effect.

Still undaunted, Gibson on this same date attempts a stout reply to the objections put forward by Bayard. He details the expenses attaching to the trip of the "Kaimiloa" and then, appealing to sentiment—in which appeals he was an adept—adds "she starts out on a mission of mercy to look after the crew of the General Siegel," (an American ship wrecked on French Frigate Shoals).

At about this time Bush was supplanted by Henry F. Poor, the Secretary of the Legation.

In this summary removal I have always believed that His Royal Master made something of a scapegoat of Bush. Certainly, Bush had carried out instructions faithfully; he had secured the agreement for Confederation; he had reported fully and accurately on the questions into which he was directed to inquire, and in whatever color his conduct, or that of the mission, has been painted,

there was assuredly nothing in this which his Sovereign would have himself deemed reprehensible had he been personally present. The chief factor in securing Bush's recall was a letter written by a halfcaste, which was proved to be forgery. Another foreigner whose presence in Samoa has been a standing cause of native dissension was also enlisted against Bush. That both these men were instrumental in bringing about Bush's downfall should certainly count for much in the latter's favor.

Whatever may be said to the credit of Bush and his successor, whose reports on Samoa are really most excellent, there is little to be said for the career of the "Kaimiloa" herself. There was not lacking in this a single element of the opera bouffe. The mission was foredoomed to failure before she started, and orders for her return awaited at Apia her arrival. In Poor's final report he writes that at first she produced a good impression, but that things soon changed and she became a disgrace to her flag. He praises the conduct of the Reform School boys, but with a few exceptions the marines and white sailors behaved badly. The ship was in a continued state of insubordination, and Jackson, the captain, was unfit to command, and Poor was forced to appoint a sailing master. Her sailing orders were given her the 23d of July, but not until the 8th of August did she finally clear out of Apia. She was ordered to proceed directly to Honolulu, but went instead to Pago-Pago harbor, where she remained while her crew bartered muskets for pigs and the captain her plated service to the chief of the bay for similar considerations. She finally reached Honolulu on the 23d of September, thirty-two days on the way.

Malietoa had intended coming on the "Kaimiloa" to Honolulu, but the change of Ministry forbade. So the Sovereigns of the proposed confederations never met. The net gain to Malietoa was a uniform and cocked hat and the decoration of the Star of Oceanica, an order which will rank in history with the order of Acrossi, founded by St. Julien for a similar purpose, of which the sover-

eign was Kamehameha III. The church and school house, the carriages and horses never materialized. But Malietoa had no occasion to mourn these. Rather might he congratulate himself that the solicitous attentions of his brother monarch had not cost him his country, and even his life.

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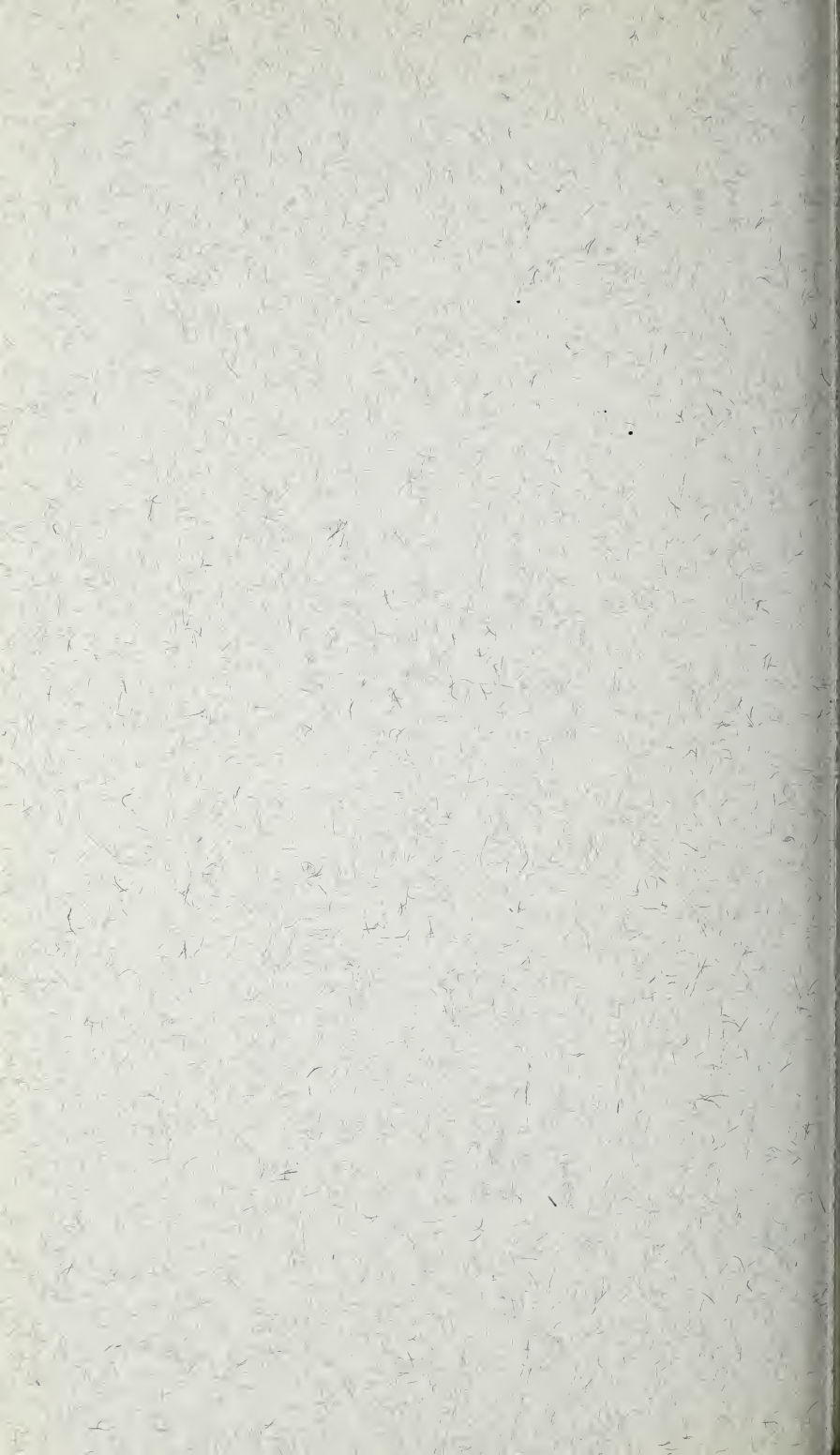
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Peterson, Dr. C. A.		
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Reynolds, W. F.	Robinson, M. P.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.
Richardson, A. W.	Rupert, Rev. F. G., Bishop of Panopolis.	
Schaefer, F. A.	Severance, H. W.	Smith, G. W.
Schmidt, H. W.	*Smith, D. B.	Smith, W. O.
Searle, J. C.	Smith, Henry	Swanzy, F. M.
Taylor, Wray	Thrum, T. G.	Thurston, L. A.
Tracy, J. M.		
Vivas, J. M.	Von Holt, H.	
Waity, H. E.	Williams, H. H.	Wilcox, A. S.
Waipuilani, J. H.	Willis, Rt. Rev. A.	Wilcox, C.
Walker, T. R.	Wilson, W. F.	Wilcox, G. N.
Waterhouse, H.	Wodehouse, E. H.	Wilcox, W. L.
Wichman, H. F.	Weedon, W. C.	Williams, Chas.

*Deceased.

Widemann, C. A.	*Wetmore, Dr. C. H.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
*Widemann, H. A.	Whiting, W. A.	Wood, J. Q.
Wilder, Mrs. S. G.	Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wood, Edgar
Wilder, W. C.	Whitney, H. M.	Wright, W. H.

*Deceased.



EIGHTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

WITH A PAPER ON THE

HISTORY OF THE HONOLULU FORT

BY DR. N. B. EMERSON.

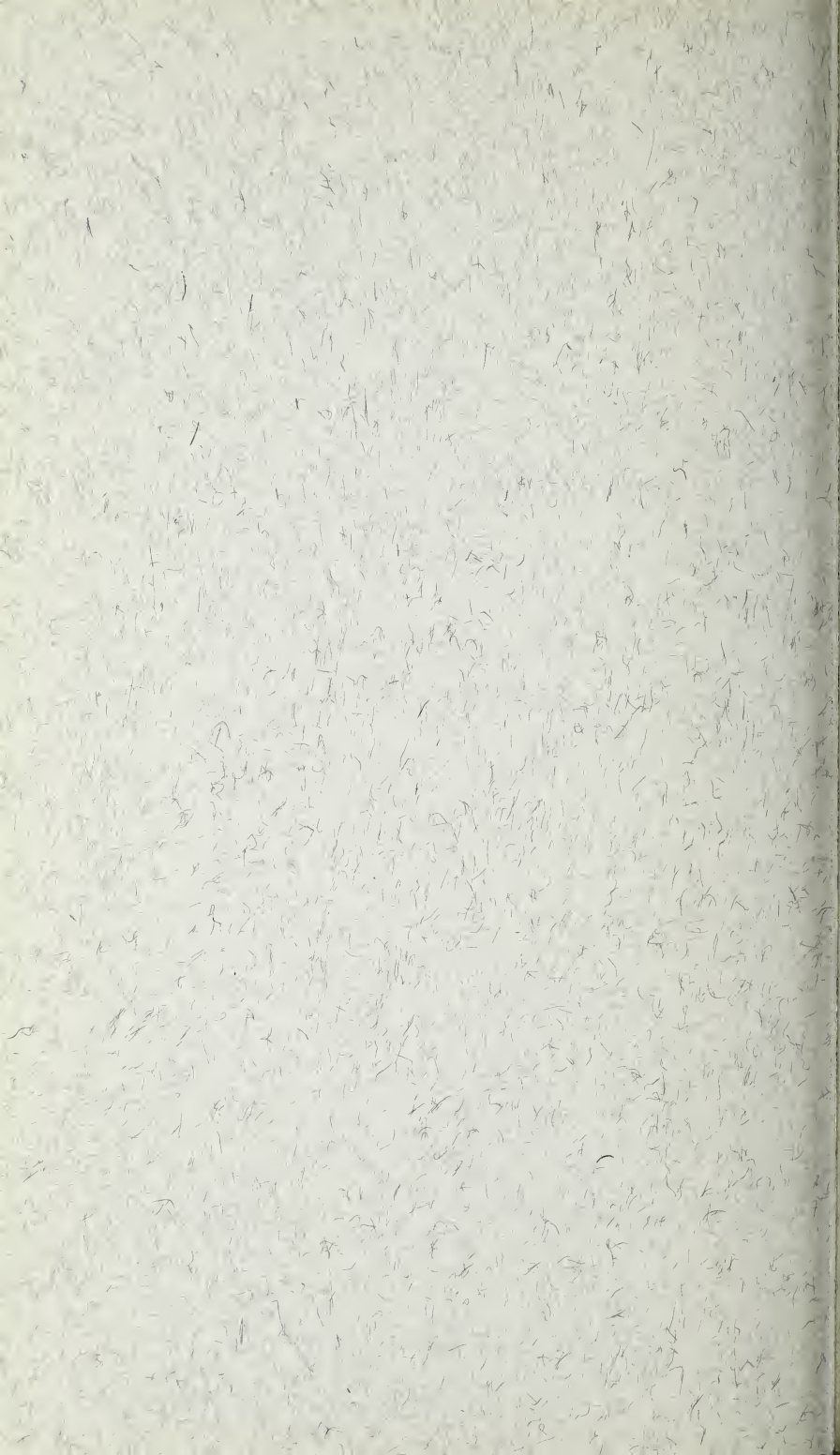
HONOLULU, H. T.

1900.

KRAUS REPRINT CO.

Millwood, N.Y.

1978



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1978

OFFICERS—1901.

PRESIDENT	N. B. EMERSON
VICE-PRESIDENT	HON. S. B. DOLE
“ “	J. S. EMERSON
“ “	W. F. ALLEN
“ “	T. G. THRUM
“ “	MRS. E. M. NAKUINA
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY	W. D. ALEXANDER
RECORDING SECRETARY	W. F. FREAR
TREASURER AND LIBRARIAN	MISS M. A. BURBANK

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD DECEMBER 10, 1900.

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall on the evening of December 10, 1900, the President, N. B. Emerson, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, Miss M. A. Burbank, presented her report for the year, showing receipts \$523.93, expenditures \$328.95, and a balance on hand of \$194.98. Miss Burbank also presented her report as Treasurer, referring, among other things, to the valuable gift from Mrs. Hyde of the complete set of books in the Hawaiian language which had been collected by the late Dr. C. M. Hyde, whose wish it was that the collection should ultimately belong to this Society.

The Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander, then read his report as Corresponding Secretary.

These reports were all accepted and ordered printed.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:

DR. N. B. EMERSON.....	President
HON. S. B. DOLE.....	First Vice-President
MR. J. S. EMERSON.....	Second Vice-President
MR. W. F. ALLEN.....	Third Vice-President
MRS. E. M. NAKUINA.....	Fourth Vice-President
MR. T. G. THRUM.....	Fifth Vice-President
PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.....	Corresponding Secretary
MR. W. F. FREAR.....	Recording Secretary
MISS M. A. BURBANK.....	Treasurer and Librarian

The following persons were elected members of the Society on the recommendation of the Board of Managers: Rev. W. D. Westervelt, Mr. T. F. Sedgwick, Rev. A. M. Smith, Ph. D.; Messrs. E. A. Mott-Smith and H. M. Mott-Smith. Lieutenant W. E. Safford was elected a corresponding member.

Article 5 of the Constitution was amended so as to read the annual meeting shall be held "on or about November 28," instead of "on November 28."

It was voted that the Librarian be paid \$100.00 for the current year, 1900, out of any available funds.

The paper of the evening was then read by the President, Dr. N. B. Emberson. This was a very interesting history of the Old Fort in Honolulu. In connection with the paper there were exhibited two pictures of the Old Fort, made by Paul Emmett, and kindly loaned for the occasion by Mr. W. C. Parke, whose father had been Marshal during the latter history of the Fort. Interesting incidents connected with the Fort were then related by Governor S. B. Dole, Mrs. Emma M. Nakuina, whose father, Mr. Metcalf, had been the first Marshal at the Fort; Mr. W. F. Allen, Mr. W. C. Parke and Mr. T. G. Thrum.

On motion of Mr. Allen the Society voted its thanks to Dr. Emerson for his valuable paper, and requested a copy thereof for publication. The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I herewith submit the Treasurer's Report for the year ending November 28th, 1900.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

RECEIPTS.

1899.

Nov. 28—Balance on hand	\$ 10 58
Interest on Government bonds.....	180 00
Principal and interest from Postal Savings B'k.	294 60
Collection of Members' dues	35 00
Sale of papers	3 63
	<hr/>
	\$523 93

EXPENDITURES.

Paid for filing papers	\$110 00
“ Librarian's salary for the year.....	100 00
“ Janitor's salary for thirteen months.....	19 50
“ Janitor for poisoning book shelves.....	30 00
“ Commissions on collection of members' dues.....	5 00
“ Express for transportation of books.....	50
“ Haw. Star for advertising Annual Meeting.....	3 00
“ Haw. Gazette Co. 200 Postal Cards and printing ...	4 00
“ Haw. Gazette Co. 1000 cards and ruling.....	4 75
“ Kegan Paul, French, Trubner & Co. Caroline Islds.	3 25
“ Robt. Grieve Pub. Co. printing 7th Annual Report.	45 00
“ For wrappers and addressing pamphlets.....	2 25
“ For postage stamps.....	2 00
	<hr/>
	\$328 95
Balance on hand.....	194 98
	<hr/>
	\$523 93

M. A. BURBANK, Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 10, 1900.

To the officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society:

Gentlemen:—The Library of the Society has received this year a very valuable addition in the gift from Mrs. Hyde of the complete collection of books printed in the Hawaiian language which had been gathered together by the late Dr. C. M. Hyde, whose wish it was that the collection should ultimately belong to the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Miss Judd has presented a number of Hawaiian Gazettes.

Various pamphlets have been sent as exchanges. Other institutions with which this Society exchanges being The Field Columbian Museum, Harvard University Library, Kansas Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Montana State Historical Society, Nebraska State Historical Society, New York Public Library, New Hampshire State Library, Philadelphia Commercial Museum, Smithsonian Institute, St. Louis Public Library, Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco; University of California Library, Yale University Library, "The Caroline Islands," by F. W. Christian, giving an account of the mysterious ruins there, is also a recent addition to our library. Many newspapers and pamphlets have also been filed and catalogued.

Some valuable books with worn-out bindings it would be well to have re-bound.

Respectfully submitted,

M. A. BURBANK,

Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1900.

When I remembered that a report would be expected from your Corresponding Secretary this evening, I was reminded of the German student, who, on being required to produce an essay on the camel, retired to his study, there to evolve from his inner consciousness the abstract idea of the camel; or again of the plight of the children of Israel when compelled to make bricks without straw.

It is a trite saying that "*Inter arma silent leges*," and so the rapid changes, political and commercial, which are taking place in these islands, have absorbed the attention of our community to the almost total exclusion of the history and folk-lore of the past. Hence the dearth of contributions which we deplore. Here I beg leave to state (to remove any misapprehension) that not only elaborate papers on special subjects, but brief communications containing information on historical events or personages, or myths or traditions or ancient customs, will be thankfully received by the officers of the Society.

Of the interesting and valuable lecture on Samoan politics, delivered before this Society last May by the Hon. H. M. Sewall, the portion relating more immediately to the part taken in them by the Hawaiian Government has been published in our Seventh Annual Report.

Our President has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Old Honolulu Fort, which we are to have the pleasure of listening to this evening. I am happy to be able to state that a work by the same author on "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii," treating especially of the cycle of legends and poems connected with the cult of Laka and of Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, is to be published in the near future.

The past History of Hawaii abounds in tempting material for imaginative literature, which has furnished a basis for two recent romances of more than ordinary merit, viz., the story of

"Hiwa," by Mr. E. P. Dole, and that of "Kelea, the Surf-Swimmer of Maui," by Dr. A. S. Twombly.

It is to be hoped that the publication of the translation of David Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities" will not be long delayed either by insufficiency of means or other hindrances.

The recent work by Mr. F. W. Christian on the Caroline Islands throws much light on the origin of the mysterious ruins found in the islands of Bonabe and Kussaie, as well as on the ethnology of that archipelago. The long continued residence of our corresponding member, Lieut. W. E. Safford, so well known as a Polynesian scholar and naturalist, in the island of Guam, will no doubt result in valuable contributions to our knowledge of the aboriginal people of the Ladrone or Marianne Islands.

But it may safely be said that no territory of the United States has had so varied and interesting a history or folk-lore as that of Hawaii, which it is the avowed object of this society to preserve from oblivion, in the interest of the science of Man.

Both in the archives of the Government and in private collections are many precious historical MSS., which should be edited and published either by this society or by the Territorial Government.

The progressive commonwealth of New Zealand is setting us a laudable example by the zeal and liberality which have been shown by both its government and its citizens, in bringing to light and preserving, as far as possible, everything that relates to the past history, the ethnology and folk-lore of that interesting country.

In view of the actual situation here, it does not seem too much to say that the work of our society, so far from being completed, is in fact only just begun.

As this is the closing year of the 19th century, it seems to be a fitting time to give a complete list of the reports and papers published by the Hawaiian Historical Society to date:

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

A LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL REPORTS.

- 1st Annual Report, read Dec. 5, 1892, containing Reports, Constitution and By-Laws.
- 2nd Annual Report, numbered 3rd Annual Report and read Nov. 30th, 1894, which contains in addition to the Reports, a brief sketch of the "Life of Kamehameha V, and Personal Recollections of Him by R. A. Lyman.
- 3rd Annual Report, numbered 4th Annual Report, read Nov. 29, 1895, containing an article on Tahiti by Miss Teuira Henry, and Historical Notes by E. Bailey.
- 4th Annual Report, read Nov. 28, 1896, containing "The Legend of the Shark-man, Nanaue," by Mrs. Emma M. Nakuina; 2. "On an Autograph Letter by Jean B. Rives," by Prof. W. D. Alexander; 3. "The Last Hours of Liholiho and Kamamalu," by Theo. H. Davies.
- 5th Annual Report, read Nov. 29, 1897, containing a lecture by S. Percy Smith, Esq., on the "Origin and Migrations of the Polynesians," and an article on "Tahitian Folk-lore," by Miss Henry, besides an essay on the career of "Capt. Hypolite Bouchard and his Treaty with Kamehameha I," written by Paul Neumann, Esq.
- 6th Annual Report, read Nov. 29, 1898, containing an article on the original maker of the Hawaiian flag, by W. D. Alexander, letters by the late Stephen H. Phillips, and Gov. J. O. Dominis, in regard to the last hours of Kamehameha V, and a paper "Regarding Ho-ao, Hawaiian Marriage," by Dr. N. B. Emerson.
- 7th Annual Report, read May 11, 1900, containing besides the reports, part of a lecture on Samoan affairs, by Hon. H. M. Sewall.

8th Annual Report, read Dec. 10, 1900, containing a paper entitled "The Honolulu Fort," by Dr. N. B. Emerson.

PAPERS PUBLISHED SEPARATELY BY THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PAPERS.

- No. 1, Read January 28, 1892, "The Relations Between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America in Early Times," by W. D. Alexander.
 - No. 2, Read April 7, 1892, "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," by J. S. Emerson, and "Traces of Spanish Influence in the Hawaiian Islands," by C. J. Lyons.
 - No. 3, Read December 5, 1892, by Hon. S. B. Dole, on "The Evolution of Hawaiian Land Titles."
 - No. 4, Read March 6, 1893, "Early Voyagers of the Pacific Ocean," by Alatau T. Atkinson, Esq.
 - No. 5, Read May 18, 1893, by Dr. N. B. Emerson, on "The Long Voyages of Ancient Hawaiians."
 - No. 6, Read May 7, 1894, by W. D. Alexander, on "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai in 1814-1819."
 - No. 7, Read June 26, 1894, by Hon. W. F. Frear, on the "Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary."
 - No. 8, Read July 18, 1895, "Honolulu in 1817-1818," by James Hunnewell, and "The Voyage of the Albatross," by W. D. Alexander.
 - No. 9, Read July 2, 1897, by W. D. Alexander, on the "Uncompleted Treaty of Annexation of 1854."
 - No. 10, On "Honolulu in 1853," by Mr. Warren Goodale, with a supplement by T. G. Thrum.
- A Catalogue of the Bound Books in the library of the Society, numbering then about a thousand, published in 1897.

THE HONOLULU FORT.

Read Before the Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, H. I.,
Dec. 10, 1900.

BY N. B. EMERSON, M. D.,

President of the Society.

Of the Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society Number 11.

One of the most characteristic, if not picturesque, features of old Honolulu, as seen by one entering its harbor, was the fort, the whitened walls of which stood prim and square close to the water's edge on land that lies immediately makai of Queen street and at its intersection with the seaward extension of Fort street.

The building of the fort at Honolulu was an event that well illustrates the truth, remarked by our Historian, that there are "many links connecting the history of these islands with that of the North-west coast of America." At the beginning of the present century, the Russian-American Company, having obtained an imperial ukase from the tzar, Paul I, absorbed the numerous Russian trading concerns whose rivalry in exploiting the fur-sealing business of North-western America had overstepped the limits of healthy competition and reached the point of violence and bloodshed.

These jarring interests reconciled, and the home forces organized under the management of one leader, Governor Baranof found it necessary to head off other competitors. Traders, chiefly from England and America, had pushed in and by the possession of better and cheaper goods, in the enjoyment of warmer latitudes in which to refit and recruit, with the world's market nearer at hand, were in a position to work havoc with the Russian monopoly. To the Russians, separated from their home market and base of supplies by the whole width of Russia and Siberian Asia, a near market for the sale and exchange of their peltry

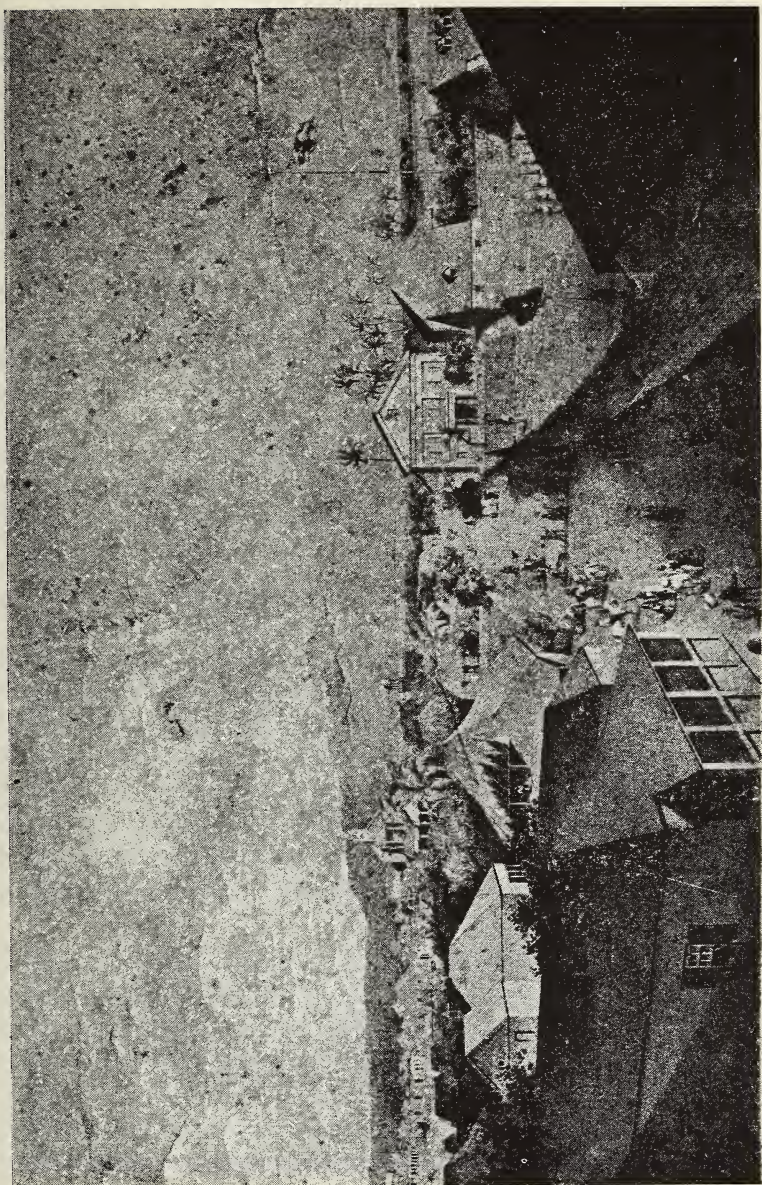
was desirable, but a reliable and accessible base of food-supply was a necessity. Governor Baranof was a man of clear intelligence and great resources, and used every effort to meet the situation. His efforts went so far as to send expeditions for exploration and to plant colonies as far south as the coast of California, thus coming in conflict with the Spaniards. These attempts at colonization were mainly with an eye to agriculture and had in view the providing of an adequate food-supply for the distressed colonists under his control in Alaska, but only ended in loss and failure.

Still casting about for the means of relieving the situation, Baranof turned wistful eyes to the seven islands that formed the kingdom of Kamehameha, and in 1808 Captain Hagemeister sailed for the Sandwich Islands in charge of the *Neva*, with (secret) instructions to establish a colony there and survey the field with a view to future occupation.† Fortunately the Scotchman, Alexander Campbell, was with the expedition in the capacity of interpreter, and in conversation with a countryman at Lahaina (MacCallum) in a moment of lucky indiscretion let the Russian cat out of the bag by revealing the secret purpose of the expedition, for which he was soundly rated by the captain for his frankness, who immediately sought to cloak his real purpose by giving out that he had an eye single to trade. Though nothing came of this colonization scheme at the time, it had an eye-opening effect on Kamehameha, who the next year made advances towards placing his kingdom under the protection of the British flag.‡

The next step to be noted is Baranof's purchase of the American ship *Atahualpa*, rechristened the *Behring*, and of her consort, the *Lady*, rechristened the *Ilmen*. This was in 1814. Captain Bennett, from whom the purchase was made, was finally employed to conduct the *Behring* on the voyage to the Sandwich Islands, where he was instructed to buy a cargo of taro, salt and other provisions. This vessel was cast away at Waimea, on Kauai, and her cargo was cared for by King Kaumualii. No

† H. H. Bancroft, *The History of the Pacific Coast*, Vol. xxviii, p. 490.

‡ H. H. Bancroft, *Loc. cit.*



VIEW OF THE HONOLULU FORT,
With Diamond Head in the distance. Drawn from nature
and lithographed by G. H. BURGESS, about 1856.

one can read the annals of those old times without being struck with the frequency with which sailing craft met with the untimely fate of being cast away.

At this time happens along at Sitka (New Archangel) one Doctor Scheffer, a linguist and man of science a plausible adventurer, who ingratiates himself into favor with the doughty Baranof and succeeds in persuading him that he is the man to conduct to success the Governor's scheme of colonization in the Sandwich Islands. Perhaps it was that the shrewd Governor took counsel of his prudence; at any rate, as if to disarm suspicion, the Doctor took passage on the American ship *Isabella*, leaving New Archangel Oct. 5th, 1815. Having interviewed Kamehameha at Kailua, Hawaii, he proceeded to Kauai and took charge of the cargo of the wrecked *Behring* (né *Atahualpa*), it having been arranged that the vessel *Otkrytie* (*Discovery*), under command of Lieutenant Podushkin, should follow in the spring with a number of native mechanics and laborers to establish a settlement. It is easy to believe that the wily German doctor played upon the ambition and discontent of Kaumualii and used them for all they were worth in the service of his own ends. At any rate he secured from that king the grant of valuable lands on Kauai, including the valley of Hanalei, to command which he threw up a redoubt and mounted cannon on heights overlooking the Hanalei river and valley. At a later date, on the invitation, it is said, of Kaumualii, Doctor Scheffer took charge of the construction of a more formidable fortification known as the Waimea fort, on which guns were mounted and the Russian flag hoisted.

It should be borne in mind that, though Kamehameha had not taken formal possession of Kauai, its king, Kaumualii, had in 1810, through his cousin Kamahalolani, made presents to the conqueror while the latter was on Oahu, and had acknowledged him as his feudal superior † and that at a later date, on receiving pledges for his personal safety—a much needed precaution, as it proved—he had visited Kamehameha, still at Honolulu,

† A Brief Hist. of the Hawn. People. W. D. Alexander, p. 155.

and had repeated his former offer. The character of Kaumualii stands in such universally good repute for honor and sound judgment that it is not easy to believe he was on this occasion led captive and entirely committed himself to the ambitious projects Doctor Scheffer laid before him, which included the overthrow of Kamehameha with Russian assistance and the placing of Kaumualii on the throne of the Hawaiian kingdom, under the protection of the Russian flag.‡ Though Kaumualii had good grounds for resentment towards and distrust of Kamehameha, and is known to have revolved many plans that had for their end his own security, yet he must have had such wholesome regard for the power and resources of his chief that he must have been convinced at an early date of the folly of risking his all in a life and death struggle with the conqueror. The fortifications and transactions on Kauai were nothing if not a threat against Kamehameha's authority and empire, and were so interpreted by him.

Not to anticipate the course of events, Kamehameha, having rested from the labors of settling the affairs of his newly conquered kingdom, and having received the submission of Kaumualii, had departed from Oahu with his army and fleet, and at the time of the occurrences on Kauai just mentioned was looking after his interests on Hawaii and the other windward islands. In 1816, during the progress of the above mentioned events on Kauai, the Russian brig *Ilmen*, which had been trading on the coast of Mexico, called in at Honolulu for repairs, and soon after was joined by the Russian ship *Kadiak*, the American name of which had been *The Myrtle*, under the command of Captain Young, being consigned by Baranof to the care of Dr. Scheffer, a conjuncture that brought together at Honolulu a force of eighty or ninety Russians. In the absence of the king and without the authority of any permission granted, they landed and proceeded to build a block house on a site near the water's edge and not far from the corner of Queen and Nuuanu streets, mounting guns, and, as usual, hoisting the flag of Russia. This

‡ H. H. Bancroft. Loc. cit., p. 507.

action of course caused great alarm in the minds of natives and foreign residents alike, being naturally interpreted as the first step in an attempt to gain footing and finally possession of the islands. A messenger was at once hurried off to carry the alarm to Kamehameha on Hawaii, who promptly responded by dispatching a large force of warriors under the command of his *pu-kaua*, general, Kalani-moku (popularly known as Kalaimoku or William Pitt), accompanied by Hoa-pili, Na-ihe, Kaikioewa, Kalei-hoku and other of his redoubtable warrior-chiefs. The famous corps of *Okaka*, composed of picked fighting men of splendid physique and chiefish rank, formed part of the troops. The transportation of this large body of warriors was accomplished partly in canoes, but mostly on sailing vessels of foreign construction, of which Kamehameha had been able to add quite a number to his fleet.

The instructions of the king to his generals on parting with them are indicative of his sagacity. "You are now going," said he, "to contend with white men. Observe well the conduct of the Russians, but be slow to come to an open rupture with them. Exhort the people to bear ill treatment with great patience; but be ready, if necessary, to make stout resistance. And if you do not have to fight them, then you had better treat them with hospitality, giving presents of vegetables and swine." Kamehameha's forces made such a brave showing on their arrival at Honolulu and created such a profound impression, almost amounting to consternation (*maka'u honua*) in the minds of the would-be invaders of Oahu, that they at once took to their ships and sailed for Kauai, where the Ilmen and Kadiak made a prolonged stay; and it was at this time and with the help of the re-enforcements thus made available that Doctor Scheffer was enabled to complete the fortifications already mentioned.

In consideration of the defenceless condition of the port of Honolulu, Kalai-moku, after consultation with John Young, at once formed plans for the construction of a substantial fort as a protection against further incursions of invaders. He accordingly issued a proclamation (*kuauhaua*) summoning all the men and women of Oahu to assemble at Honolulu to aid in erecting the "*papu*," the name of which was to be "*Kekuanohu*." To this

order Keeaumoku, the chief of Waialua, objected and stiffly declined to allow the people of that apana to be drafted for this work, alleging that their services were required for the collection of sandal-wood from the mountains. On that ground they were excused. Ground was first broken in January, 1816, but the work was barely accomplished by the end of the year.

The immediate cause that prompted the erection of the fort, as has been seen, was the threat of foreign invasion, and whatever views may be entertained as to the amount of credit due that structure in acting as a deterrent to further attempts of the sort on the part of the Russians, there can be no doubt that it served a useful purpose by placing in a very clear light the determination of the king and chiefs to do their utmost and to tolerate no infringement of the rights and liberties of the land. If its presence did nothing more than to act as a moral tonic on the courage of the king, his generals and warriors, the Honolulu Fort fully justified the wisdom of those who planned its erection.

The student of history cannot afford to speculate in any but the most serious mood as to the developments that might have grown out of the attempts of the Russians to gain a footing on the soil of these islands. By whatever name one designates the settlements made by the agents of Governor Baranof, whether they be called *factories*, *trading stations*, or *plantations*, they were in fact nothing less than military establishments, forts, the entrance of the wedge that had for its purpose the overthrow of Hawaiian independence. One cannot withhold from Doctor Scheffer the credit of using to good advantage the political situation as he found it, and of making his dispositions well accord with the situation of affairs that prevailed in the Hawaiian kingdom at the time of his arrival here. It must be borne in mind that the only bond that held the King of Kauai in allegiance to the conqueror of the other islands of the group was the breath of honor—a compact the obligation of which had but slight hold on the conscience of Kamehameha—and if that could be dissolved, negatived by the initiation, or acceptance, of an overt act, whether his own or that of another, there would have been created a state of affairs, a complication, from which it is conceiv-

able that by a man possessing determination and skill, force of genius, there might have been plucked from the tangle of events some strong chance of success. If Doctor Scheffer had been able to persuade King Ka-umu-alii to keep him company a little further on the road he was travelling, it would not have required many more stages to bring him to the point of open rebellion, and thus to have gained for the wily Russian agent the decisive advantage, if it were but temporary, of a crisis in which his Hawaiian dupe would have been compelled to look to him for succor and support.

But the plans of Doctor Scheffer—and they were also the plans of Governor Baranof—did not meet with the diplomatic approval of the imperial government, and the Doctor, thus cut off from his base of supplies, as well as of moral support, New Archangel, was unable to make good his promises to Kaumu-alii. As it was the actions of the king of Kauai had gone far enough to awaken the deepest concern of Kamehameha and to call forth from him demands so strenuous that Ka-umu-alii could not afford to disregard them. Early in 1817, the Fort at Honolulu having been completed, came the demand, final and decisive, for the expulsion of the invader, and Doctor Scheffer, discountenanced at home and repulsed on Kauai, was compelled to put to sea at short notice and make his way as best he could in a leaky ship to Honolulu, where the vessel was allowed asylum only on the condition of giving up all her guns.

There is in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum “a Russian brass cannon bearing the date 1807, which, it is thought, probably once belonged to the Kadiak.”†

To quote from Bancroft, the historian of the Pacific coast: “Thus ended the (Russian) attempt at colonization in the Hawaiian Islands, whereby nothing was gained, and a loss of 250,000 roubles was incurred by the Russian-American Company.”‡

Having thus disposed of the Russians, we can now resume the story of the old Fort. The material was mostly adobe, faced without and within with thick walls of coral rock, of that porous

† “The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai.” p. 12. W. D. Alexander.

‡ Loc. Cit. p. 509. H. H. Bancroft. The rouble equalled about 73 cents.

kind which abounds in the reefs immediately about the harbor of Honolulu, the same as was in later years used in the construction of the "Stone Church" at Kawaiahae. The fort was a rectangular structure, about three hundred and forty feet long by three hundred feet wide, with walls twelve feet high and twenty feet thick at the base. In curious disregard of sound military principles, its longest face, which was quite straight, fronted the inner *cul de sac* of the harbor, that namely which lay opposite to Robinson's wharf. The consequent narrowness of its sea front, that which looked toward the channel, the quarter whence the real danger might be expected, was in part compensated for by the fact that at this end its wall, following the line of the shore, whose waters at high tide or in storm dashed against its base, was curved slightly outward, giving it a battle frontage of about three hundred and thirty-six feet from western to southern corner. Its Waikiki, or southeastern, wall was straight and placed parallel with its harbor wall, having a length of about two hundred and seventy-seven feet. The main entrance looked up Fort street, and during at least the last years of its existence was closed by heavy wooden gates hung on massive iron hinges. There was also a lesser entrance that pierced the sea wall near the southern corner. The armament consisted of about forty guns of different calibre, six eight, twelve and probably a few thirty-two pounders. At least one of these was of brass, mention of which will be made later.

Mention has been made of the existence of embrasures† and countenance is apparently given to that supposition from the appearance of an old sketch giving an ocean view of the harbor and fort, which certainly does picture them. That, however was long before the days of photography, and from the testimony of old residents, whose acquaintance with the structure dates as far back as the early forties, as well as from internal evidence gained from study of the fort itself, the writer is inclined to call in question their existence at any time. Personal recollection enables me to state that from the year 1849 to the date of the fort's dismantlement and entire demolition in 1857 the guns were mounted

* Alexander. Brief Hist. of the Hawn. People. p. 160.

en barbette on old fashioned carriages, which rested on the level parapet in the most confiding and unprotected manner. A broadside of grape or canister would have swept the parapets clean and driven the gunners to cover within the *enciente* itself

But in spite of its scientific deficiencies, the old fort during the early years of its history rendered an important service by exercising a salutary moral influence over the port and town. For many years the guns formed the saluting battery for Honolulu. The earliest occasion for this peaceful demonstration was on December 14, 1816, when salutes were exchanged with the Russian ship *Rurick*, on which Captain Kotzebue was making a voyage of discovery about the world. This was Kotzebue's first voyage to the islands. The salutes were made as the *Rurick* was leaving the harbor, where the captain and his ship had been most hospitably received.

In the winter of 1830-31, Liliha, the widow of Boki, who was governess of Oahu in conjunction with Kinau, in the absence of the king, of Kaahumanu and the leading chiefs, who were making a tour of the windward islands, encouraged by certain disaffected foreigners, purchased arms and ammunition, filled the fort with armed men from Waianae and raised the standard of revolt. She was, however, quickly brought to terms by her father, the brave warrior Hoa-pili, who hastened to Honolulu without arms or troops, and by his moral influence persuaded her to surrender without the spilling of blood.

On the 20th of October, 1840, the fort was the central point of a momentous and impressive scene, that being the occasion of the formal infliction of capital punishment by hanging for the first time in the Hawaiian Islands, in accordance with the new lights of justice imported from abroad. (It may be stated that only a few days before the first constitution had been published as the voluntary act of the king.) The fact that the foremost offender in the crime, that of wife-poisoning, was a chief of no mean rank named Kamanawa (a relative of the late King Kalakaua) gave to the affair unusual importance; and it should be set down to the credit of the young king, Kamehameha III, that he did not interpose the pardoning power to stay the hand of

justice in the case of a man of rank. The gallows was set up on the mauka parapet of the fort, just east of the gate and this object lesson to evil-doers was witnessed by an immense concourse of people.

The events of 1843 mark that year as standing at a most critical point in Hawaiian history, that being the year of the provisional cession of the government to Great Britain. The consummation of this act was accomplished by public announcement at three o'clock on February 25th, 1843. Standing on the rampart of the fort, King Kau-i-ke-aouli, Kamehameha III, delivered the following pathetic address :

"Where are you, chiefs, people and commoners, of the same blood as myself, and people from foreign lands! Listen! I declare to you that I am perplexed with the difficulties into which I have been brought without just cause. The result has been that I have ceded away the government, the life, of our land; hear ye! But my rule over you, my people, and your privileges will be preserved, for I have confidence that the life of the land will be restored when my action shall be justified."

The act of cession was then read, followed by the reading of Lord Paulet's proclamation, after which the Hawaiian flag was lowered and British colors were hoisted to the mast-head and the day's work was accomplished by salutes from the "Carysfort" and the Honolulu Fort, after which the marines marched in to the music of the band. It is a satisfaction to be able to think that Lord Paulet's triumph over decency and justice had a life of but five months and six days.

French Outrages. In August, 1849, the French frigate *Poursuivante* and corvette *Gassendi* arrived at Honolulu, and after making demands which could not be granted, Admiral de Tromelin landed an armed force and took possession of the custom house and other public property, and committed acts which he was pleased to call "reprisals." The brunt of this hysteric blow fell heavily on the fort and its armament. When Governor Ke-kuanaoa was called upon to surrender the place, in accordance with the policy of non-resistance that had been agreed upon, he withdrew his men and allowed the French party to enter and

take possession; but when ordered to haul down the Hawaiian flag, he declined to do it. During the ten days of outrage and pillage that followed, the emblem of Hawaiian independence remained at the mast-head. The representatives of the most Christian defender of the faith thereupon proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the properties that remained within the enclosure. Cannon were dismounted, broken and spiked, their carriages wrecked, the powder thrown into the ocean. In spite of de Tromelin's manifesto posted about the town, which declared that private property would be respected, the furniture, ornaments and personal effects of Governor Kekuanaoa—and most grievous of all, his calabashes, a fine collection—were destroyed or pilfered, thus causing this heroic act of gallic spite to be dubbed "the war of the calabashes."

Peculiar interest attaches to the fate of a long brass cannon which lay unmounted on the parapet not far from the fort's western angle. It was probably of Spanish manufacture, and imagination is invited to adorn its history previous to its arrival at Honolulu with any amount of romance. Age and contact with the world had imparted to it that delicious bronzy tint suggestive of rich wine or a peachy Castilian cheek. Besides other adornments, it bore in relief the Latin motto "*Ultima ratio regum*," (the last argument of kings.) When the Frenchman came to this work of art he first tried to cut off its trunions by chiseling a furrow about their base and then smiting heavy blows with a sledge hammer. But this attempt at mutilation failed and the story is told that the final blow given by the Frenchman missed its aim and smashed the man's foot. After the departure of the invaders an attempt was made to remove the steel with which its touch-hole had been spiked. During that operation the workman sat astride of the gun, and by some chance a heavy charge of powder which the Frenchman had put into its chamber, was fired. The spike was driven up through the man's head, but strange to relate, did not cause his death. The gun was pointed across the harbor at the time and the shot and scraps of iron, with which it had been filled, in their flight struck a man aboard a vessel lying near the present site of the wharf of the Oahu Railroad and Land Com-

pany, causing his death. Probably many besides the writer can remember the ruinous disorder which reigned within the fort when the French occupation had come to an end—the mutilated cannon, the dismembered gun-carriages, the scattered ammunition, the broken furniture and smashed calabashes in Kekuanaoa's house; also de Tromelin's proclamation, printed in the Hawaiian language, which still remained pasted at the mauka entrance in which *vv* did duty for *w*, and *t* took the place of *k*, all of which peculiarities aroused the schoolboy's schorn and indignation. Among other things stolen was the royal yacht, Kamehameha III, which was taken to Tahiti and never returned nor paid for. When sail was set and the trim craft pointed to sea, for some mysterious reason she would not move, and much laughter and many jokes were indulged in at the expense of the Frenchman. The secret of the vessel's patriotic attachment to Hawaiian soil was not solved until a diver was sent down, and it was found that a stout line had been attached to her keel and made fast ashore.

A description of the fort's interior must be based partly on personal recollection and partly on the testimony of *kama-ainas*, none of which reach farther back than the forties. Admitted by the armed sentry through the gate at the foot of Fort street—Hawaii had a "Department of the Army and Navy" in those days under the presiding care of that staunch and patriotic diplomat, Robert Crichton Wyllie—one found himself standing on a level parade ground of nearly two acres in area, that afforded room for the evolutions of a regiment. Facing the visitor was a row of stone cells built up against the sea-wall at the makai end of the fort, which were used for the confinement of prisoners; and many was the unruly or riotous sailor, who during the "whaling season," when the ships in the harbor were packed like herrings in a tub, was thrust therein to cool his head and quiet his enthusiasm over night after undue indulgences ashore. Turning to the left and facing the Waikiki wall, one looked upon the powder magazine, the whitewashed stone arches of which fortunately were never put to the test of a bombardment. A substantial flight of stone steps in the eastern corner led to the parapet. Mounting these and expanding his lungs to the delicious breeze

that wafts down the valley, one found himself on an elevated promenade, commanding a view of the town unobstructed by the forest growth that veils and at the same time beautifies the Honolulu of today. The principal trees to be seen in Honolulu in those days were the cocoanut, the *hau* (hibiscus) and the kukui. The crooked and angular forms of the *hau* were to be seen growing directly out of the parapet, furnishing what was much appreciated as a shelter against the tropical sun. In another part of the rampart, angular forms of the latter were to be seen growing directly out of the parapet, furnishing what was much appreciated as a shelter against the tropical sun. In another part of the rampart, cheek by jowl with the rusty guns, stood rude shanties put up by the native soldiery as a shelter against the elements. Altogether we find the fort to be a curious medley of the emblems of peace and war—the kingdom of the Kamehamehas was peace.

Built up alongside of this Waikiki rampart, with upper floor flush with and resting upon it, stood two nondescript framed houses, soldiers' quarters and barracks, perhaps in the lower story, but in the upper story of one the Police Court at the time under consideration held its sessions. It was in the forties, or perhaps a little earlier, that the doughty chieftain Kekaunaoa exercised the dual functions of judge and governor in this very place, now balancing the scales of justice and now wielding the sword to execute the penalty himself had imposed. Still standing on the parapet, looking south, one might see not many yards away that famous old government house, "*Hale Kauwila*," so called because its timbers were the sacred kauwila rafters obtained from the "*Hale o Kewee*," the royal mausoleum in Kona, Hawaii, which the iconoclastic zeal of Ka-ahu-manu (exercising from her point of view a righteous indignation) destroyed in 1829.

In November (9), 1852, occurred the "sailors' riot" in Honolulu. It grew out of an unfortunate incident that happened within the fort, and revolved about that enclosure as a storm-center, for a time enveloping it in the black clouds that threatened war. It was during the fall whaling season; the harbor was crowded with whale-ships, and the number of seamen in port reached to the thousands. An American sailor by the name of

Burns, confined in one of the cells for drunkenness during the night, became noisy and unruly. A policeman named Sherman went in to quiet him, the sedative being his club, and by an unlucky blow in the dark inflicted an injury that resulted in the man's death. The indignation and excitement among the American sailors rose to fever heat and was fed by the doings at the funeral, on which occasion the whole multitude in solemn procession marched up the valley to the cemetery, bearing a huge American flag. The mob then assembled at the fort and demanded that the policeman be delivered up to them, and when that was refused they threatened to take the fort by storm and deal with affairs in their own way. Mr. E. H. Allen, U. S. Consul (afterwards Chief Justice), standing on the parapet of the fortification, addressed the inflamed mob and used all the persuasions and blandishments of oratory in an effort to pacify it, but with only partial success. They were, however, for the moment diverted from the immediate object of attack, but later in the day turned their attention to the Station House, which stood not far from the foot of Nuuanu street and so close to the shipping that when it was fired the flames were communicated to the nearest whale-ship, thus endangering the whole fleet, to the number of hundreds of vessels, that lay crowded together in the harbor. Liquor, obtained from saloons that were broken open, added fuel to the excitement and the town was at the mercy of the rioters. W. C. Parke, brave and energetic, was Marshal, and he earnestly requested to be permitted to put down the rising with a strong hand by the use of the forces under his command, but this proposition was negatived by wiser and more peaceful counsels. A muster of citizens and foreign residents, including the officers of some of the ships in port, was held within the fort and a military organization, "The Hawaiian Guards," was formed, and after some demur martial law was proclaimed by the Governor. Meantime liquor, freely indulged in, by its stupifying influence, had helped to work the cure of its own evils, and the alarm occasioned in those of more reasonable mind among the sailors at the narrow escape from the loss of the whole fleet and all their earnings acted as a damper on their lawless ardor. The military organization having been completed,

the native militia together with the newly formed volunteers that included some of the captains and officers of the fleet, now marched out from the fort and patrolled the town. They carried the day; numerous arrests were made, and without further violence the town settled down to its ordinary quiet.

Destruction of the Fort. In 1857, after forty years of existence, the Honolulu Fort was clearly no longer a necessary part of the military establishment of Hawaii. Arrangements had been made to provide more suitable headquarters for the Police Department and a prison, and for years the guns on Punchbowl had done duty as saluting battery. With the growth of commercial prosperity, incident in part to the California "gold-fever," and the stimulus given to trade by the opening up of that country, it was found necessary to increase the facilities of the harbor. The old fort had come to be an anachronism. It occupied ground that had assumed a high commercial value and must be demolished to make way for the growth of the town along the water-front. It was an era of public improvements. A tract of reef and shoal water on the southeastern side of the harbor had been purchased by the government from Queen Dowager Kalama, and the walls of Ke-kua-nohu did good stead as material for filling in, resulting in the addition of sixteen acres of new land, "*Aina-hou*," called also the "Esplanade," to the business part of the town. The coral stones from the fort walls found their use at once in helping to build the two thousand feet of water-front that were thus added to, or perhaps more truly, taken from the harbor. Fort street was widened and continued to the water's edge, and Honolulu trimmed and made herself ready for the new prosperity that was looming up ahead.

N. B. EMERSON.

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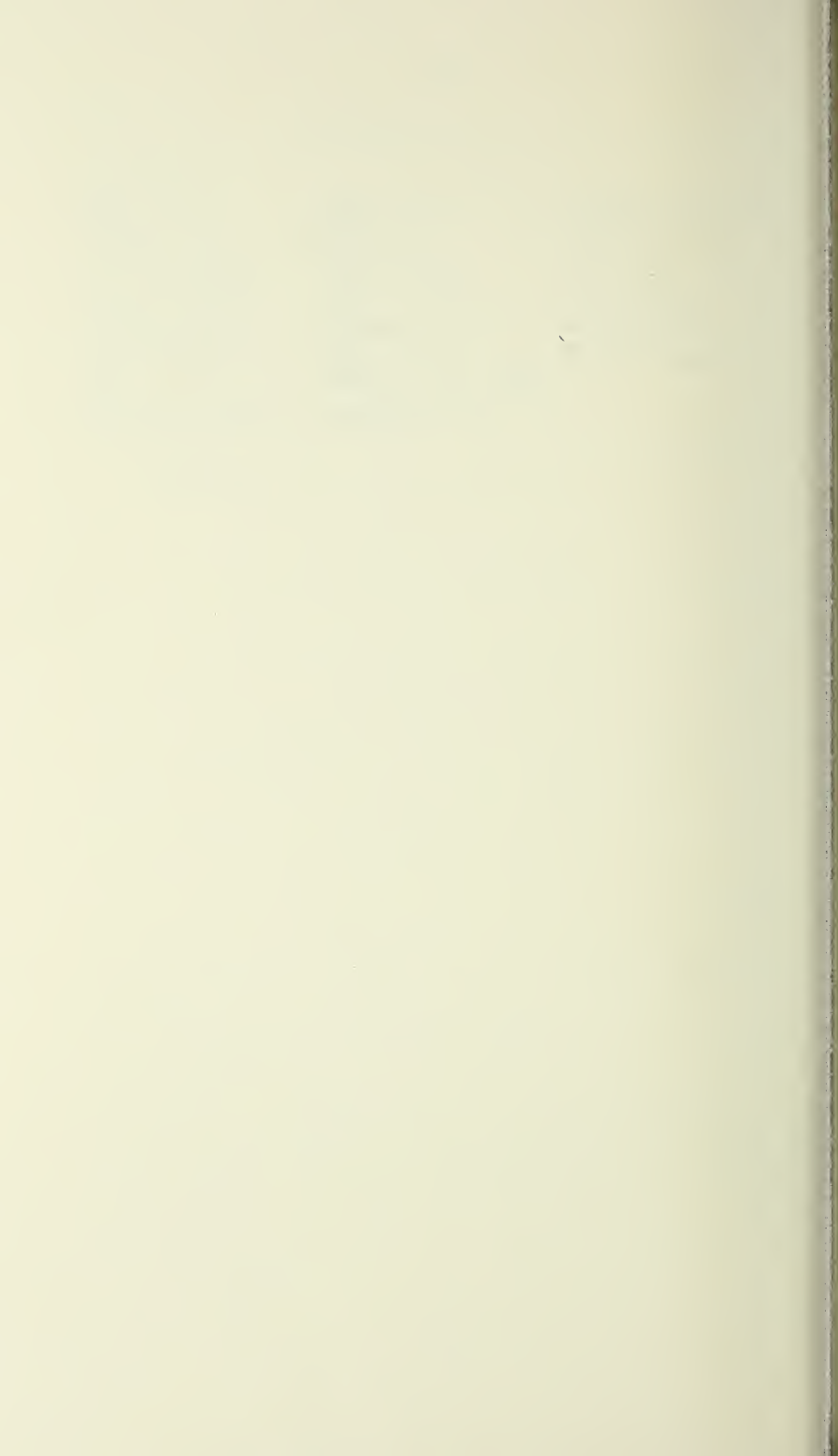
Wood, Dr. C. B.

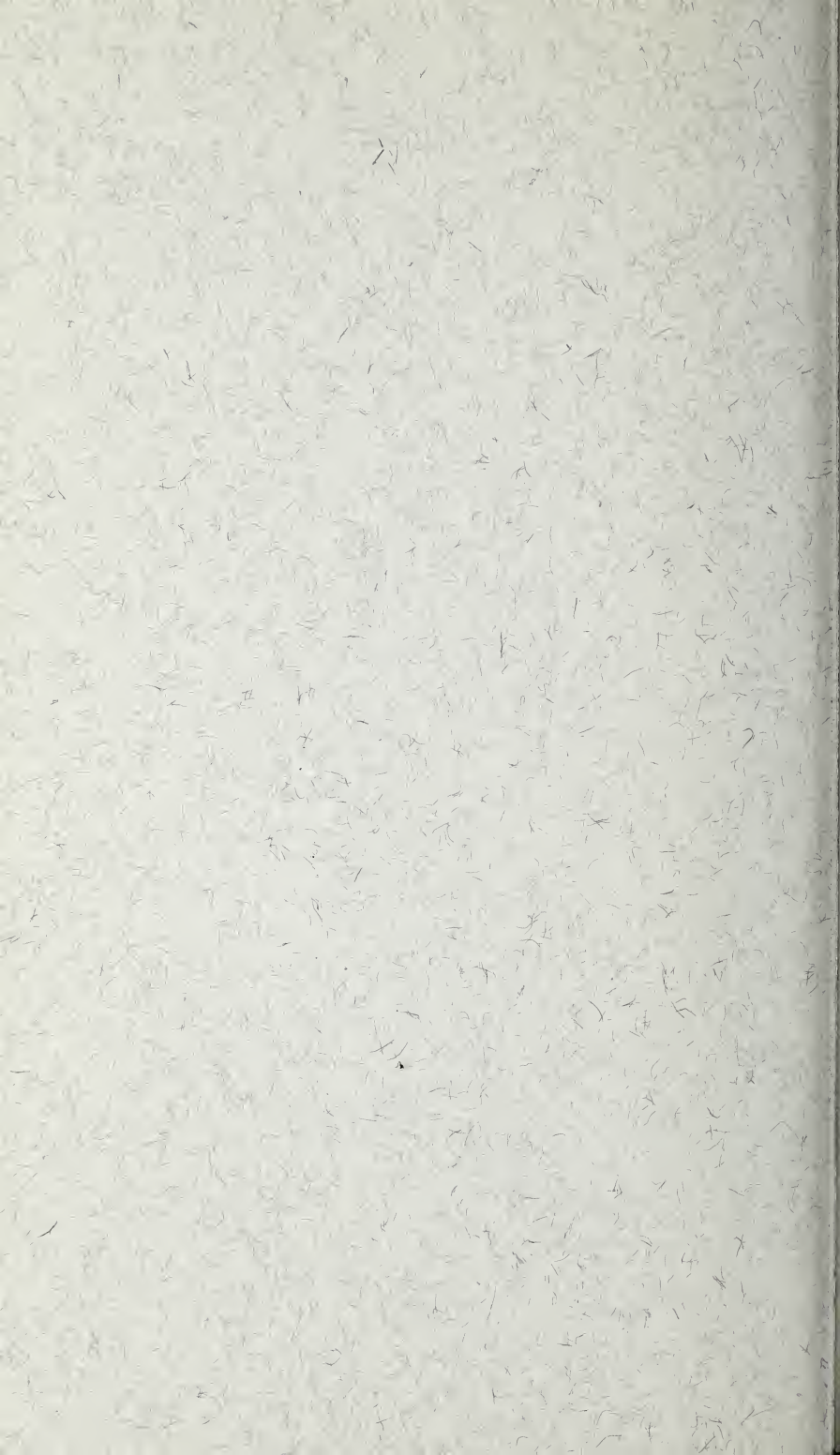
Wood, Edgar

Wright, W. H.

Wundenberg, F.

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OF THE
Hawaiian Historical Society

WITH A PAPER ON SOME

Hawaiian Beliefs Regarding Spirits

BY J. S. EMERSON

AND A REPORT ON A

Find of Human Bones Exhumed in the Sands of Waikiki

BY N. B. EMERSON

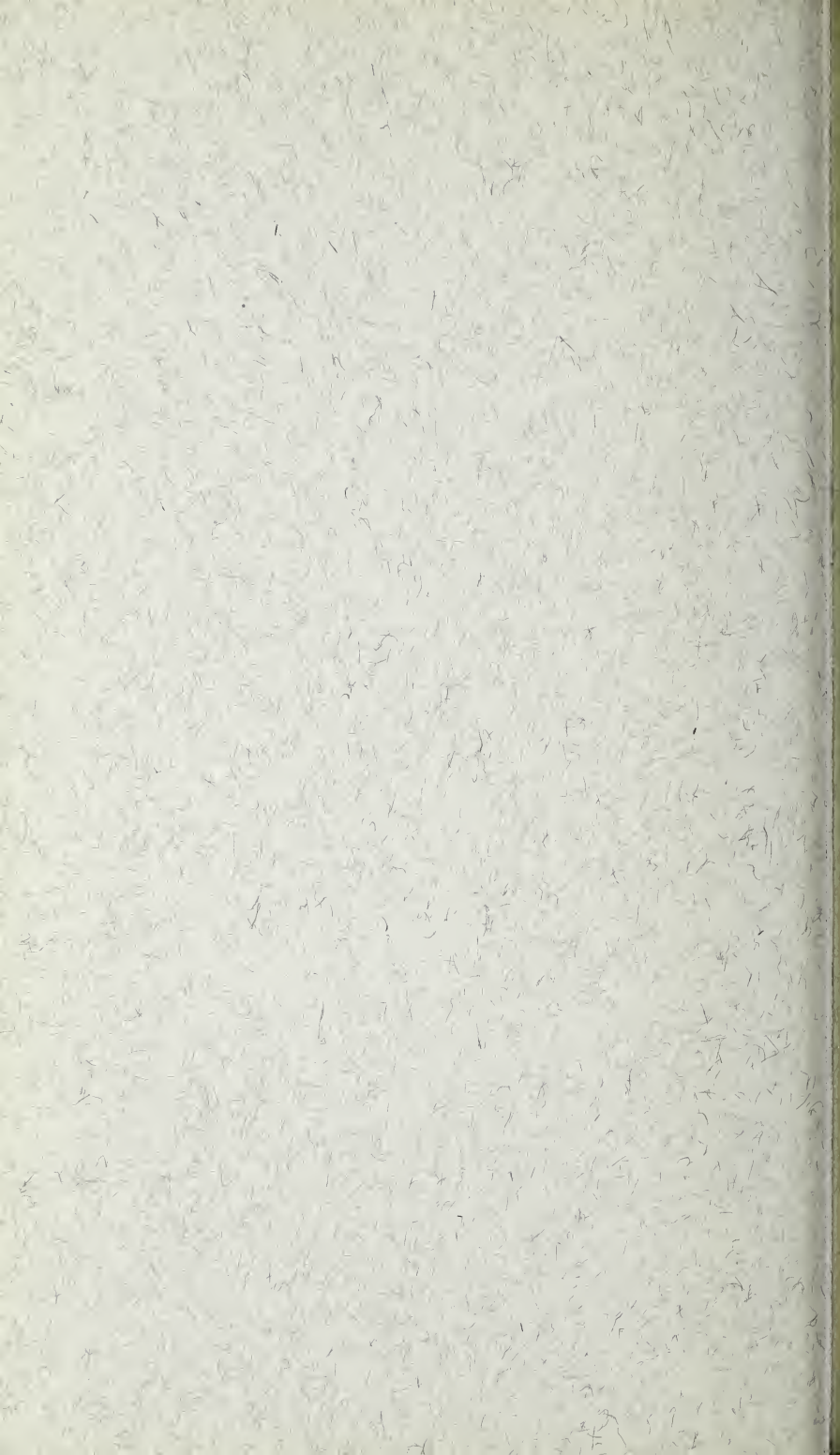
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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD JANUARY 11, 1902.

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall on the evening of January 11, 1902, the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, being in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, Miss M. A. Burbank, presented her report for the period from Nov. 29, 1900, to Dec. 31, 1901, showing total receipts \$521.93, expenditures \$471.60, and balance on hand of \$50.33.

Miss Burbank also presented her report as Librarian, and Prof. W. D. Alexander presented his report as Corresponding Secretary. These reports were all accepted and ordered printed.

The following officers were re-elected for the coming year:

DR. N. B. EMERSON.....	President
GOV. S. B. DOLE.....	First Vice-President
MR. J. S. EMERSON.....	Second Vice-President
MR. W. F. ALLEN.....	Third Vice-President
PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.....	Corresponding Secretary
HON. W. F. FREAR.....	Recording Secretary
MISS M. A. BURBANK.....	Treasurer and Librarian

The following persons were elected members of the Society on the recommendation of the Board of Managers:

Joseph P. Cooke, Percy M. Pond, George C. Potter, Albert F. Judd, Charles L. Rhodes, Walter E. Wall, Walter G. Smith, E. B. McClanahan, Philip L. Weaver, Samuel T. Alexander, Charles McGonagle, John Stokes and William A. Bryan.

Mr. F. S. Dodge, formerly captain of the First Company of Sharpshooters, which had been organized in April, 1893, and had continued under the Provisional Government and the Republic,

until it was disbanded by President Dole on the day of the Flag raising, Aug. 12, 1898, after annexation, then spoke of the history of that company, and in pursuance of a vote of the company, presented to the Society for preservation a koa box containing the records of the company. The Society voted to accept these and place them among its records, and to extend its thanks to the Sharpshooters through Mr. Dodge.

The President, Dr. Emerson, then called Vice-President Mr. T. G. Thrum to the chair, while he read a paper describing some bones and ornaments which had been exhumed at Waikiki, in the summer of 1900, by workmen engaged in laying sewer pipe at Mr. J. B. Castle's residence. It was voted to request a copy of this paper for publication.

The principal paper of the evening was then read by Mr. J. S. Emerson on "Some Hawaiian Beliefs regarding Spirits." A copy of this was requested for publication. Miscellaneous remarks were then made, principally by Prof. Alexander, Dr. Emerson, Mr. J. S. Emerson and Dr. Rodgers with reference to the orthodoxy of Hawaiian beliefs in regard to spirits from a theosophical standpoint, and the possible explanation of this by the theory that the Hawaiians are Aryans from India, the home of theosophy; also by Dr. Emerson, Mr. J. S. Emerson, Rev. O. P. Emerson and Mr. Thrum in regard to four cannon lost in Waialua Bay about 1854 from a schooner named the Malolo, which was wrecked there when loaded with lumber for bridges in the Waialua district. The Society voted to authorize the Board of Managers to pay the Librarian \$100 for the year 1902.

The meeting then adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

I herewith submit my report as Treasurer for the period from November 29, 1900, to December 31, 1901, inclusive:

RECEIPTS.

Nov. 29, 1900—Balance on hand.....	\$194.98
Interest on Government Bonds.....	129.20
Collection of Members' Dues.....	194.00
Sale of papers	3.75
	<hr/>
Total receipts for the year.....	\$521.93

EXPENDITURES.

Deposited in Bishop's Savings Bank.....	\$130.00
Librarian's Salary for the year.....	100.00
Paid for Filing papers.....	49.00
Janitor's Salary for thirteen months.....	19.50
Paid Janitor for poisoning Book-shelves.....	30.00
Commissions on Collection of Members' dues.....	14.60
Accrued interest on McBryde Bonds.....	53.00
Paid Robert Grieve Publishing Co. for printing Eighth Annual Report	48.50
For Thrum's Annual 1894-1902.....	8.00
Paid P. Selander for binding four volumes.....	10.00
“ Bulletin Co. advertising Annual Meeting.....	3.75
“ Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. “Featherman's Social History of the Races of Mankind”.....	5.25
	<hr/>
Total expenditures for the year.....	\$471.60
December 31, 1901,—Balance on hand.....	50.33
	<hr/>
	\$521.93

M. A. BURBANK, Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1901.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society:

Gentlemen:—There is little to report during the past year. The principal work done in the library has been in caring for and arranging papers, pamphlets and clippings and cataloguing them.

Featherman's "Social History of the Races of Mankind" and West's "Ten Years in South Central Polynesia" have been purchased of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London. Some valuable old books have been rebound. A few pamphlets have been sent us as exchanges; also some volumes of United States Government publications have been sent from Washington.

It is to be regretted that so few Hawaiian publications of the day find their way to the library of the Historical Society. Pamphlets and newspapers are often difficult to obtain a few months after publication.

Contributions of anything relating to the Islands of the Pacific, and to the Hawaiian Islands in particular, would be most welcome accessions.

Respectfully submitted,

M. A. BURBANK,

Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1901.

It is with regret that I am again obliged to say that as Secretary I have but little to report this evening. It seems, however, to be expected of the Secretary that he render an annual report on things in general relating to the objects of the Society.

The activity of our friends in New Zealand in the study of Polynesian history and folk-lore is in decided contrast with our own inactivity in such pursuits.

Still we have reason to hope for contributions from both our resident and our corresponding members during the present year.

From Mr. H. Bingham, Jr., who is to read a paper on American influences in Hawaii before the arrival of missionaries, before the American Historical Association, we expect a paper on the early white settlers of Hawaii nei.

We are also promised a paper from our corresponding member, Lieut. W. E. Safford, who collected material from old Spanish archives and elsewhere for an interesting history of the Ladrões, during his residence in Guam. S. Percy Smith, Esq., who is well known here, has been visiting the solitary island of Niue or Savage Island, to the eastward of the Tonga group, under instructions from the New Zealand government, to organize a system of local government among its people.

It is expected that he will secure valuable information in regard to their early history, which may throw light on the migrations of the Polynesian race.

We also hope to receive contributions from our resident members not only on ancient Hawaiian poetry and folk-lore but also on the later history of the islands during the transition period. The local traditions of the islands of Kauai and Niihau, which are of peculiar interest, have hitherto been sadly neglected, and it is greatly to be desired that they should be put on record before it is too late.

Not only formal essays but also any brief statements regarding persons or events, legends or customs of the past will be thankfully received. In view of the interest now awakened in the preservation of our forests, reliable testimony in regard to their condition in early times will be of much value.

I have repeatedly referred to the precious historical material in M. S. form, existing in the Government archives and in private hands, which is liable to be lost if not rescued from oblivion by the "art preservative of all arts." There have been also newspapers published here in former times, of which no complete files exist, which contained articles of great historical value, as for example, S. M. Kamakau's history of Kamehameha I, and his articles on ancient religious rites and beliefs, which are worthy of being translated and edited.

It is much to be regretted that this Society has no fund available for such purposes. It is consoling to learn that Dr. Emerson's work on certain ancient "Unwritten Literature" of Hawaii is in the hands of a New York publishing firm. I understand that we may soon look for another paper by the Director of the Bishop Museum on the subject of Polynesian Tapas. The series of reminiscences of the olden time, which have appeared in the "Friend" during the past year, well deserve to be collected and republished in a more permanent form.

The Historical Missionary Album published last August, embodies the results of great research, and is of permanent value. Other historical works by members of our Society, which await publication, are the History of Tahiti by Miss Teuira Henry, and Dr. H. M. Lyman's vivid recollections of early life in Hawaii half a century ago.

It happens that to-day is the tenth anniversary of the organization of this Society. When we consider the extensive field before us, it may truly be said that our work, so far from being completed, is in fact but just begun.

It is to be hoped that during the next decade this Society may achieve much greater results than it has during the last.

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have received a letter from our corresponding member, S. Percy Smith, Esq., written at Uea or Savage Island, Dec. 12, 1901, from which I will make a few extracts.

He says: "I have been here rather over three months, and have now finished the work which I undertook to do, i. e. to establish a form of government in consonance with British ideas, have arranged for the collection of customs duties, established native courts of justice, &c.

* * * "The island is about 40 miles around, and 220 feet is the highest elevation. It is an elevated coral bank, and covered with vegetation, indeed some of the forests are very fine, but have not much of a tropical look except for the cocoanuts and banians. It is terribly rocky—it needs some 10,000 years of disintegration before the soil will be plentiful, and yet, where there is soil amongst the crevasses of the rocks, it is extremely fertile, and grows all the tropical products. * * * The natives are interesting, as being a branch of the Polynesian race, belonging I think to the Tonga-fiti people, to whom I referred in my book, i. e. they are a mixture of Polynesians and Melanesians. Their language presents some peculiarities that are extremely interesting, it is copious and contains some Melanesian elements, as the pronouns show, thus:

	1st Person.	2nd Person.	3d Person.
Singular ----	au	koe	ia
Dual -----	{inclusive, taua	mua	laua
	{exclusive, maua		
Plural -----	{inclusive, tautolu		
	{exclusive, mautolu	Mutolu	Lautolu

The resident missionary, Tregear, and I propose to publish a dictionary and grammar of the language on my return. I have been much disappointed about their traditions. They have very few, but what there are, are common to Polynesians generally but mixed up. They do not know where they came from, but say from Tonga, which means any foreign place. I find them very kind and courteous and amenable to my governing. They are great travelers, and the majority of them have been to Tonga or Samoa. * * * I have taken to photography, and secured a large number of views of scenery and groups of people."

SOME HAWAIIAN BELIEFS REGARDING SPIRITS.

By J. S. Emerson,

All people are more or less superstitious and all superstitions are interesting. But the superstitions of a primitive people, long isolated from the world at large, are of peculiar interest, because they serve to throw light on the childhood of our race, and help to fill up the gaps in the story of man's evolution.

In common with many other races, the Hawaiian believes that every person has two spirits. While the body sleeps, one of the spirits leaves it in charge of its fellow, and wanders at large, giving rise to dreams, *moeuhane*, the sleep of the spirit. This waywardness of the restless spirit often causes a deal of mischief and gives the *kahuna* employment.

An interesting case of witch-craft lately came under my observation. On Monday night, December 2nd, 1901, my man, Keola, while sleeping in his home, but a few rods from my tent in Wai-alee of this island, felt the grasp of a hand on his throat. After a desperate struggle he succeeded in releasing himself from the grip of the witch, whom he clearly recognized as the wife of Pele who lives with her husband beside the railroad, about a quarter of a mile distant. To be sure her body was asleep in her own house at the time. All are agreed on that point. It was only one of her spirits that was up to these pranks, but the spirit was seen and recognized from its close resemblance to the physical body to which it belongs. In the morning Keola told me of his trouble, and together we went to see the woman who had disturbed his rest during the night. She was an old and ill favored specimen of a hag, squatting on a mat in a miserable frame house, at the entrance to which was nailed a horse shoe. In the presence of her husband Keola boldly charged her with making an attempt on his life, and it was left to the *kahuna* to decide whether she was guilty of the action charged. Now the old man Pele, the husband of the alleged witch, is himself a *kahuna* of considerable local practice, and so it was left to him to try the case. He uses a pack of cards, I am told, in making divination and bringing the secret things of the spirit world to light. On this occasion he was as-

sisted by three other persons, one of whom was the plaintiff, while the poor defendant looked on, but was not allowed to take any active part. The *kahuna* shuffled the cards and dealt them out in four piles. Certain cards thus became tokens of innocence and others of the guilt of the accused. Again they were manipulated and divided into two piles, to be reduced in turn to one. At the bottom of this was found the Jack of Diamonds, clear proof of guilt. The old woman saw that she had had a fair trial, acknowledged that the evidence was against her and made no attempt to deny her guilt. Spirits are always getting into mischief. It now remained for the *kahuna* to settle the spirit and thus prevent it from doing further ill. His grandson was sent after the things needed for the ceremony. They consisted of three *panoo* fish, freshly caught from the sea, five joints of red sugar cane of the variety called *ko uwala*, and of flowers of the hola or auhuhu shrub, a well known fish poison, five *kauna*, or twenty in number. She was made to eat the sugar cane together with the auhuhu flowers, after which she took the three raw fish, and approaching the junction of two roads, without looking back, she dropped the fish behind her and passed on, leaving them for the *kahuna* to cover. Peace was thus restored. The relations of the chief actors again became friendly, and Keola, who of late had been greatly pestered by spirits, obtained temporary immunity.

Natives hold that the habit that spirits have of wandering around at night while the body is at rest often leads to their destruction. The *kahuna poi uhane* is a professional spirit catcher. His business is murder in which he is always prepared to engage for a consideration. By means of his black art he summons at will the spiritual messengers who bring him his victims. These messengers are the spirits of men and women who during life excelled in the arts of the *kahuna*. Among those most commonly employed are Kuamu and Kapo, who were women, and Kaonohiokala, Kumukahi and Palamoa who were men.

All *kahunas* of this class may compel the service of the above messengers, but in some cases a *kahuna* may have his own particular servant, a spirit owing him allegiance as sole master. Such a special messenger is called an *unihipili* and is treated of in a

paper written by me on the Lessen Hawaiian Gods and published by this society. The hour selected for commencing operations should be in the early part of the night, when people have gone to sleep and their spirits have not yet had time to wander far from their homes. The *kahuna* is seated in his house alone with his client. Everything is in readiness. Tasting of the awa he pours out a libation to the familiar spirits who are to be his messengers, at the same time uttering a dread prayer which compels their presence. They are sent to gather together and to bring with them to his house a company of spirits among whom is that of his intended victim and some of his friends to disarm suspicion. Three cups, each made by cutting a cocoanut shell longitudinally in the middle, are filled with awa and placed side by side in the open door way of his house. Behind these he seats himself while his client is removed to a corner, hid from view. Meantime his familiar spirits are visiting various houses and inviting their inmates to a social drink. What could be more welcome to a spirit fond of a spree! Each messenger is now returning with a small party of followers. The *kahuna*, seeing one of these approach, describes in turn the individuals comprising the party. Addressing his client he says: "I see Kuamu coming yonder; with her is a company of four. One is an old man wearing a red shirt, with his front teeth knocked out, and——" "No, that is not he," interrupts the client. "The next is a tall young man with a white shirt and denim pants and a maile wreath around his neck." "No, no, that is not he." "Not so loud, not so loud, you will scare all the spirits." At last the client hears from the *kahuna* a description of the very person whose life he is seeking and whispers, "That is he." Perfect stillness is enjoined. Quite a company have now gathered about the *kahuna's* door.

The old awa drinkers boldly incline their heads and drink their favorite beverage. To be sure the corporeal substance of the awa is not diminished. Only its spiritual essence is drunk by the thirsty spirits. At last the victim, for whom all this preparation has been made, following the example of his decoys, bows his head to the cup and drinks. Quick as a cat catching a mouse, the *kahuna* seizes him in his right hand and crushes him with both

hands. A faint squeak and the spirit is dead. He opens his hand and discovers a drop of blood. Mixing this blood with some potato or poi the two conspirators swallow the uncanny concoction. The next day the poor wretch is told how last night his spirit was caught and slain by the famous *kahuna*. It is all up with him. He may linger a day or two only to die miserably.

Another method of dealing with spirits practiced by *kahunas* is to imprison them when caught in a drinking gourd to await a ransom from the owner when informed of his loss. For strangely enough in all these cases the wandering spirit gets into mischief or trouble, and its failure to return is not noticed by the owner until the *kahuna* or his accomplice informs him of the fact.

Sometimes, as in a fainting fit, the spirit suddenly leaves the body which is said to be *make, aole nae make loa*, that is dead yet not altogether dead. If, as in the case of a trance, the body becomes cold by its continued absence it often becomes difficult to force the reluctant spirit to reenter the body. In such cases the approved method of treatment is for the *kahuna* to catch the spirit and, raising the nail of the large toe of the deceased, to force the spirit in. This done the nail must be firmly held down while a vigorous *lomilomi*, or rubbing of the toe and foot, forces the spirit back to the ankle joint. As when a man walking in a cave comes to a narrow passage and with difficulty squeezes his body through, so the spirit requires much urging to get through this narrow passage. The joints of the knee and thigh also offer peculiar difficulty to the passage of the incoming spirit. When it arrives at the chest, respiration is renewed and the life of the body is restored. "But why not force the spirit down the mouth or nostrils and save labor?" I asked of my instructor in *kahuna* lore. "Because it would jump out and escape," was his prompt reply.

Various accounts have appeared in print, in Thrum's Annual and elsewhere, of the adventures of spirits, who after a protracted stay among the spirits of the dead, have been forced back into their bodies to resume active life among the living. The following fragmentary tale is given to illustrate the case of a spirit whose stay without the body was less protracted and the return more simple. Paele, a young man living in Honolulu a few years since,

retired early to bed one evening, apparently in his usual good health. He was to have risen the next morning to attend to his regular work, instead of which he continued in sound sleep. Every effort of his friends to arouse him failed, and he remained sleeping until after mid day. Then, on regaining consciousness, he gave an account of his experiences somewhat as follows: With his sweetheart he started on a trip walking around the island of Oahu. They passed through populous villages of the olden time, welcomed by their friends and countrymen. On the Mokuleia plains their journey was cheered and enlivened by the music of the *hula* drums for which the place was famous. But they could not tarry to enjoy it. A power was ever impelling them on. When they reached the jumping off place of spirits, Lei'na-kauhane, they ascended the famous rock, situated by the sea on the north side of the present railroad and some little distance easterly from Kaena point. But there was no railroad there then. As they stood on the rock they were surrounded by spirits who used every effort to make Paele face the sea. Had he once turned in that direction the spirits behind him would have pushed and forced him to jump into the vast deep of the spirit world. Then his fair companion held him, and together they struggled against the wiles and force of the spirits. He kept his face toward the mountain and thus got away from the perilous spot. We will not delay over his remaining adventures. Arriving at home he parted from his kind friend to awake under the circumstances already stated.

At death the spirits pass out of the body through the nostrils or the open mouth. They usually make the burial place of the body their headquarters, but are continually wandering around frightening and pestering people, particularly their relatives. To prevent this annoyance it is thought desirable to shut the spirit up with the body. This is done by placing large stones over the grave and filling the spaces with plaster. Covering the coffin with thorns or refuse animal matter has also been resorted to. In spite of these and other precautions the ghosts get out and become a source of continued annoyance and often of danger. They trip up people in the dark, pinch and pull their limbs in bed, throw stones, scare

horses, knock on houses, emit uncanny odors, mutter and chirp, *muki* is the Hawaiian expression; and call out warnings of approaching death. Whatever happens without a visible cause may be attributed to ghosts. At times they are seen and recognized, looking very much as they did in life. In the dark they some times manifest their presence by the peculiar aroma of some scented kapa, like *ouholowai*, that may have been placed over the body after death.

As an illustration of the way that ghosts disturb and annoy people at the present time I will relate the experience of my man Keola at Waialeale, during the night of Nov. 29th, 1901, as told to me at the time. The two Chinamen who were temporarily employed by his father had on several occasions declared that they had no fear of *akwas*. Keola was greatly shocked by such an avowal of unbelief in the supernatural, and warned them of the danger of such bold and rash utterances, assuring them that the *akwas* would punish them if they continued to indulge in such infidel talk. Sure enough his fears were soon realized, for about two o'clock on the night in question the two Chinamen cried out in terror. Three loud knocks were heard on the sides of the house. Something seized the two men by their legs and pulled them. Keola rushed out in the bright moonlight and looked all around the house. There was no visible cause for these knocks, therefore he was sure it was a ghost. About one or two hours after I looked in upon them as they sat about a lighted lamp in a state of excitement. Keola's wife declared that she would sleep no more that night. A young lad who chanced to be there assured me that it was the Devil.

It is related of a man who was occupying a lonely spot in the woods that the ghosts surrounded him calling out most ominously "*Oia hoi! oia hoi!*" that one also, that one also, meaning that he was appointed to death and would soon join their ranks. He seized some fire brands and scattered live coals about him. This so alarmed the ghosts that they fled, thus saving his life.

At times fishermen have felt a bite and drawn up a struggling fish. Just as the hook reached the surface a bubble of air came up with it. It was not a fish but only a ghost. The Hawaiian word

corresponding to ghost is *lapu*. From it comes the word *lapu-wale*, vanity, only a *lapu*. Like so many other Hawaiian words *lapu* does duty as a substantive, adjective and verb. The expression *ua lapu ia* is equivalent to saying that one has been visited or frightened by a ghost.

Hawaiian dwelling houses are often surrounded by a hedge of the well known ti plant. It serves to keep ghosts away and is the proper thing for a well regulated home. Before cattle and horses began to multiply to the great injury of such hedges, on which they are fond of browsing, they were much more common than at present. A well to do Hawaiian of my acquaintance, after building an expensive frame house, was warned by the *kahuna* not to live in it on pain of death until the flowers should appear on a hedge of ti plants with which he was directed to surround the house. For a whole year or more he was obliged to live in his old grass house while the new one stood empty, waiting for the hedge to grow and the flowers to bloom, making it habitable.

Ghosts are supposed to frequent those places with which they were familiar while living in the body. If during life people have been used to travelling certain roads their spirits will continue to travel the same route after death, even though the travel of the living may have been diverted to newer and better roads.

Certain roads are peculiarly infested with spirits. The Mahikiwaina road, from Waimea to Kukuihaele on Hawaii, is famous as the chosen path of the ghosts in their stately march to the Lua o Milu, or subterranean abode of the dead, in Waipio valley. Some years ago the Rev. L. Lyons, of Waimea, related to me the experiences of one of his friends who claimed to have seen this *oio*, or procession of ghosts. The man in question was an intelligent, trustworthy Hawaiian, of good reputation for veracity. As he was walking alone on the Mahikiwaina road, the solemn procession was seen to approach. Kamehameha the Great attended by his officers and warriors in imposing array marched along this ancient highway. Near to the King marched his *ilamuku*, or master of ceremonies, club in hand. Our traveller, knowing that it was death to be discovered by this officer, dropped to the ground and crawled to a place of concealment in the woods

which lined the road. From this point he saw the procession pass by. Overcome by terror, he was glad to escape unhurt, a living witness to this exhibition of the super-natural.

Some of the Hawaiian beliefs of to-day are not unlike those of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors of a few generations ago. Their mental attitude has much in common with that which characterized the times of Cotton Mather and the Salem witch-craft, a condition of thralldom from which the growing light of modern science has set at liberty the more advanced of our race. By J. S. Emerson.

NOTE.—In New Zealand, the term "*Reinga*," (which is said to mean the leaping place), identical with the Hawaiian "*Leina*," is applied to the North Cape.

"The spirits were supposed to travel to the North Cape, or land's end, and there passing along a long narrow ledge of rock, they leaped down upon a flat stone, and thence slinging themselves into the water by some long sea-weed, they entered *Po*, (or Hades), the *Reinga* being the passage to it."—Taylor's New Zealand, p. 103.

The Marquesans have a similar belief in regard to the north point of the island of Hiau, the northernmost island of their group, and I am told that they apply the same term "*Reinga*" to their Avernus.

See also Dibble's History, p. 99.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A FIND OF HUMAN BONES EXHUMED IN THE SANDS OF WAIKIKI.

It was my good fortune sometime early in the summer of 1901 to have the opportunity, through the courtesy of Mr. James B. Castle to inspect a find of human bones that were uncovered by workmen employed by him in excavating a number of trenches on his premises in Waikiki for the purpose of laying sewer-pipes.

The soil was white coral sand mixed with coarse coral debris and sea-shells together with a slight admixture of red earth and perhaps an occasional trace of charcoal. The ground had been trenched to a depth of five or six feet, at about which level a large number of human bones were met with, mostly placed in separate groups apart from each other, as if each group formed the bones of a single skeleton. Many of the skulls and larger bones had been removed by the workmen before my arrival, especially the more perfect ones. I succeeded, however, in securing four fair specimens of skulls and a considerable number of the long bones. My collection included 4 skulls, 8 femurs and a miscellaneous assortment of other bones, most of which apparently seemed to belong to the same skeletal groups.

The femurs were such as evidently belonged for the most part to adult skeletons, their measurements, as roughly made, being as follows: one femur 16 inches long, two $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, two 16 6-8 inches, one 17 inches, and two $17\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The skulls, four in number, were in general similar to the type attributed to the Hawaiian race, brachy-cephalic, though but one of them, and that one very much decayed, was markedly of this type. Rude measurement gave its antero-posterior axis as about 7 inches, its bilateral axis approximately $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Careful measurement would be necessary in order to enable a craniologist to classify it properly.

The typical Hawaiian skull, it need not be remarked, is supposed to be of the brachy-cephalic type, flattened, sometimes as if from pressure, in a direction from forehead to back-head. But

my observation would lead me to believe that it is not at all uncommon to find Hawaiian heads with such ample length from forehead to occiput as to entitle them to be classed as dolicocephalic.

With these bones was found a number of such articles as the Hawaiians were wont to deposit with the bodies of their interred friends. This included a number of conical beads of whale-teeth such as the Hawaiians formerly made, a number of round glass beads of large size, the lustre of which was much dimmed by long contact with the corrosive salts of the sea-sand.

Some of the bone beads were in a fair state of preservation, while others were beginning to crumble from decay. The beads of bone may be assigned to any period of Hawaiian history, even the most remote, but those of glass can be assigned with certainty to some date subsequent to the arrival of the white man. In the same group with the beads was also found a small sized niho-palaoa, such as was generally appropriated to the use of the chiefs. This article of ornament carved from a tooth of the sperm-whale into a shape which always suggests to my mind the protruded tongue—though others prefer to see in its figure a resemblance to the crest of the *mahiole*—the Hawaiian helmet—even with a suggestion of the vertebra prominent at the back of the neck—was in an advanced state of decay, already crumbling. It was evidently of great age.

From the disorder in the arrangement and grouping of the bones, caused by the operations of the workmen, I was unable to form any opinion as to what was the position in which the bodies had been placed at the time of sepulture; whether any of them had occupied the usual crouching, chin-to-knee, position in which the Hawaiians were often wont to place their dead at burial.

One of the skulls, the oldest and the one mentioned as the most decidedly brachy-cephalic, was partly covered by what seemed to have been a wooden mask of some sort. The wood was much rotted, and it together with the skull was more or less penetrated by grass-roots.

The two middle incisors of each of the adult lower jaw-bones were gone, having evidently been removed before death, as must

be judged from the fact that the cavities occupied by them had been filled up with a growth of new bone. The suggestion naturally arises that this may have been caused by the practice of *ku-ma-kena*, which was of general observance among the Hawaiians at the time of the death of the king or of a beloved high chief.

Among the bones obtained was the lower jaw of a child below the age of puberty, which was in a good state of preservation.

It should be remembered that the Hawaiians, when they did not resort to secret burial in the *ana-huna*, as in the case of a beloved alii, for the purpose of concealing the bones and saving them from desecration, gladly availed themselves of the sandy wastes bordering the sea as places of sepulture. Erosion by the elements, denudation of the protecting covering of grass and herbage from cattle and the constant blowing of the wind have in many places laid bare these ancient burial grounds of the Hawaiians.

From the absence of fractures and marks of violence in the bones I have examined, such as might have been caused in battle, I am inclined to think that the site where they were found was at one time a Hawaiian cemetery.

The whole subject of Hawaiian sepulture and the manner of disposing of the dead, together with the burial rites of the ancient Hawaiians is a matter well worthy of special study.

N. B. EMERSON.

Honolulu, H. I., January 11, 1902.

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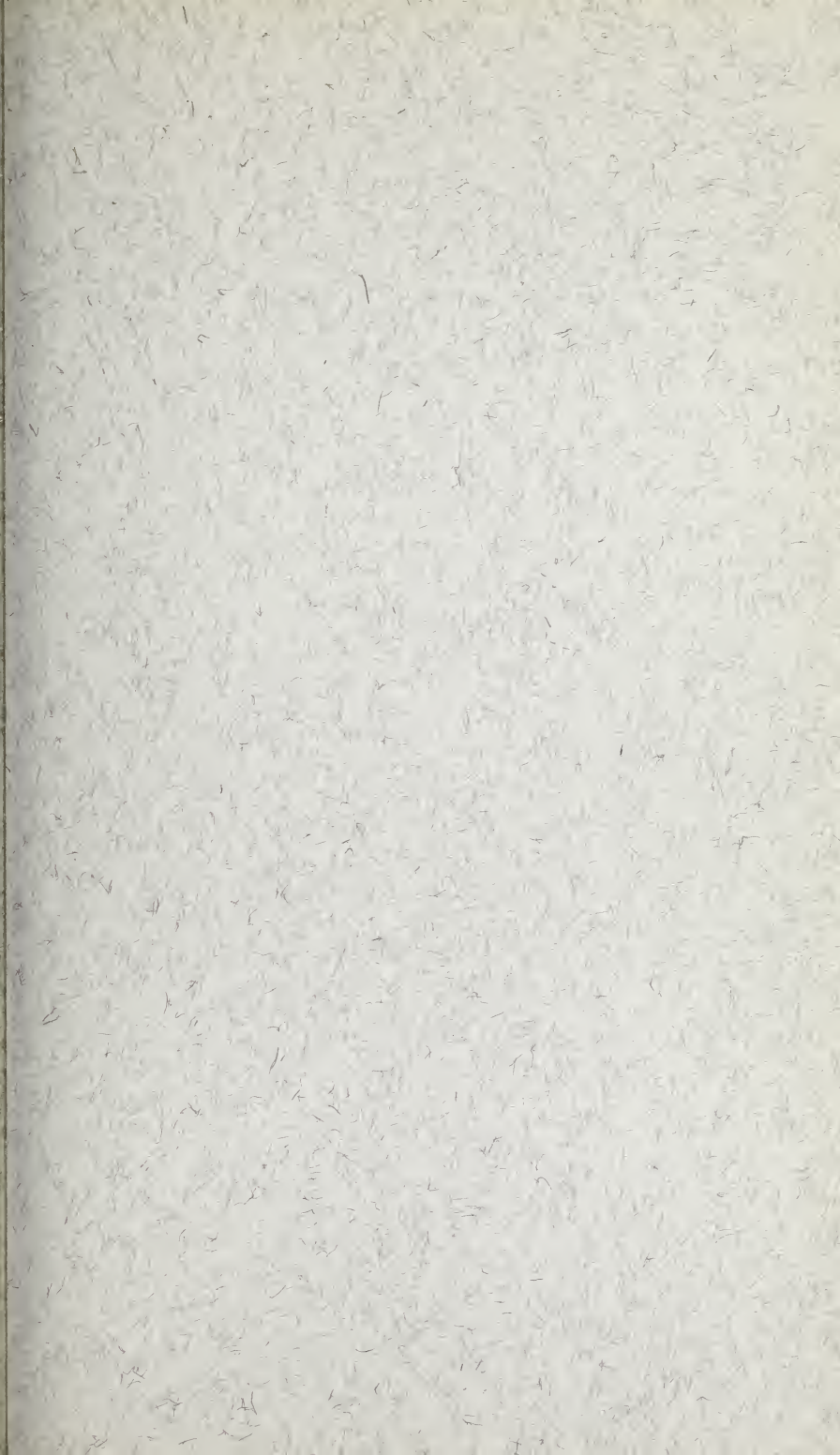
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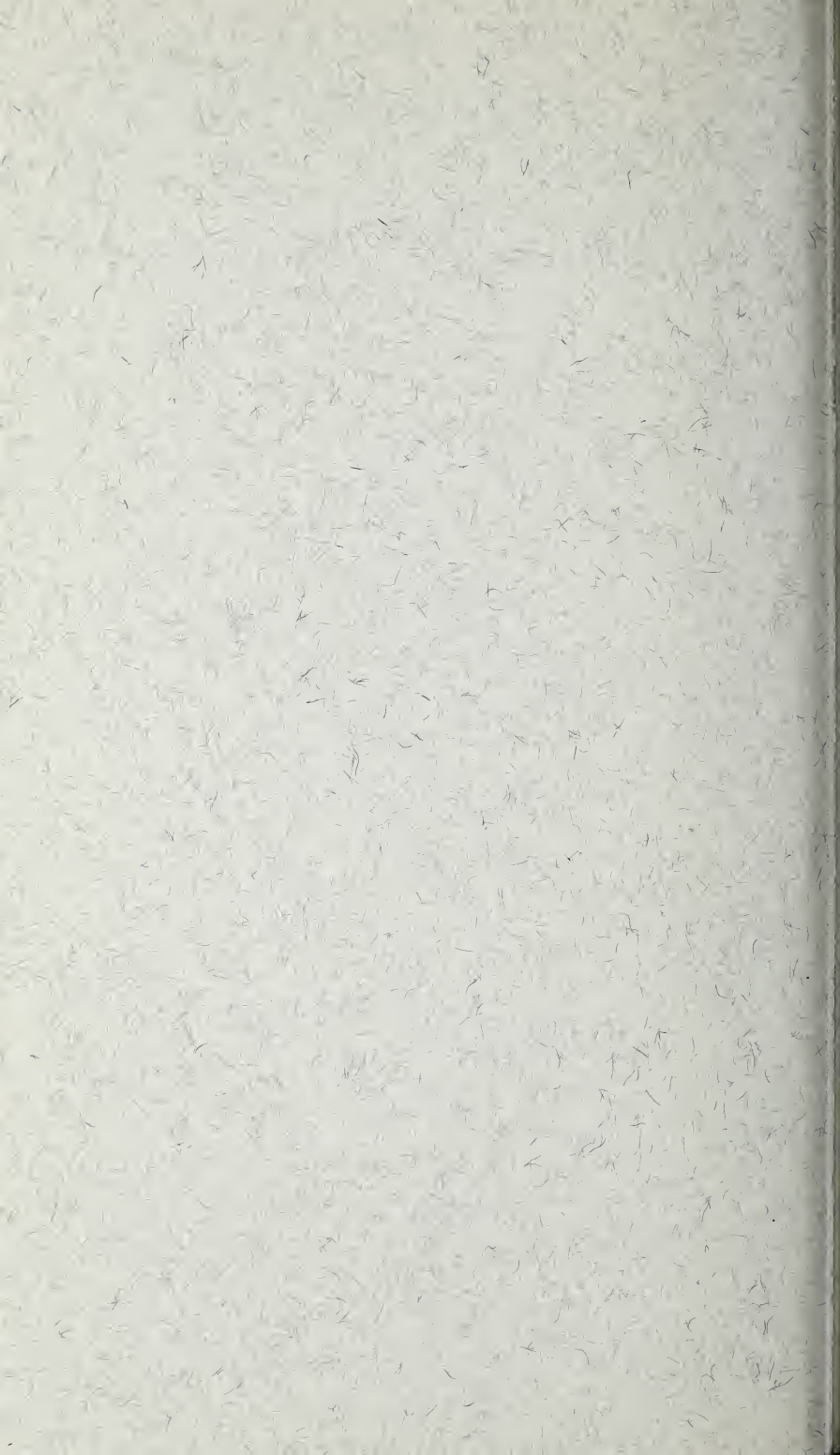
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Macfarlane, E. C.	May, Thos.	Mott-Smith, E. A.
Mackintosh, Rev. A.	McIntyre, H. E.	Mott-Smith, H. M.
*McWayne, Dr. A.	Monsarrat, J. M.	
Magoon, J. A.	McGonagle, Chas.	
Nakuina, M. K.	Nichols, Dr. A. E.	Nolte, H. J.
*Neumann, P.		
Parke, W. C.	Peacock, W. C.	Pond, Percy M.
Parmelee, H. A.	Peck, P.	Potter, Geo. C.
Rhodes, C. L.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.	Robinson, M. P.
Ripley, C. B.	Rowell, W. E.	Robert, Rev. F. G., Bishop of Panopolis
Sedgwick, T. F.	Smith, Henry	Swanzy, F. M.
Searle, J. C.	Smith, A. M.	Stokes, John
Schaefer, F. A.	Smith, G. W.	Smith, Walter G.
Schmidt, H. W.	Smith, W. Q.	
Thrum, T. G.	Thurston, L. A.	
Von Holt, H.		
Waity, H. E.	Wodehouse, E. H.	Whitney, Dr. J. M.
Walker, T. R.	Wall, W. E.	Whitney, H. M.

*Deceased.

Waterhouse, H.	Wilcox, A. S.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
Wichman, H. F.	Wilcox, C.	Wood, Edgar
Williams, H. H.	Wilcox, G. N.	*Wright, W. Horace
Willis, Rt. Rev. A.	*Wilder, W. C.	Wundenberg, F.
Wilson, W. F.	Whiting, W. A.	Westervelt, Rev. W. D.

*Deceased.





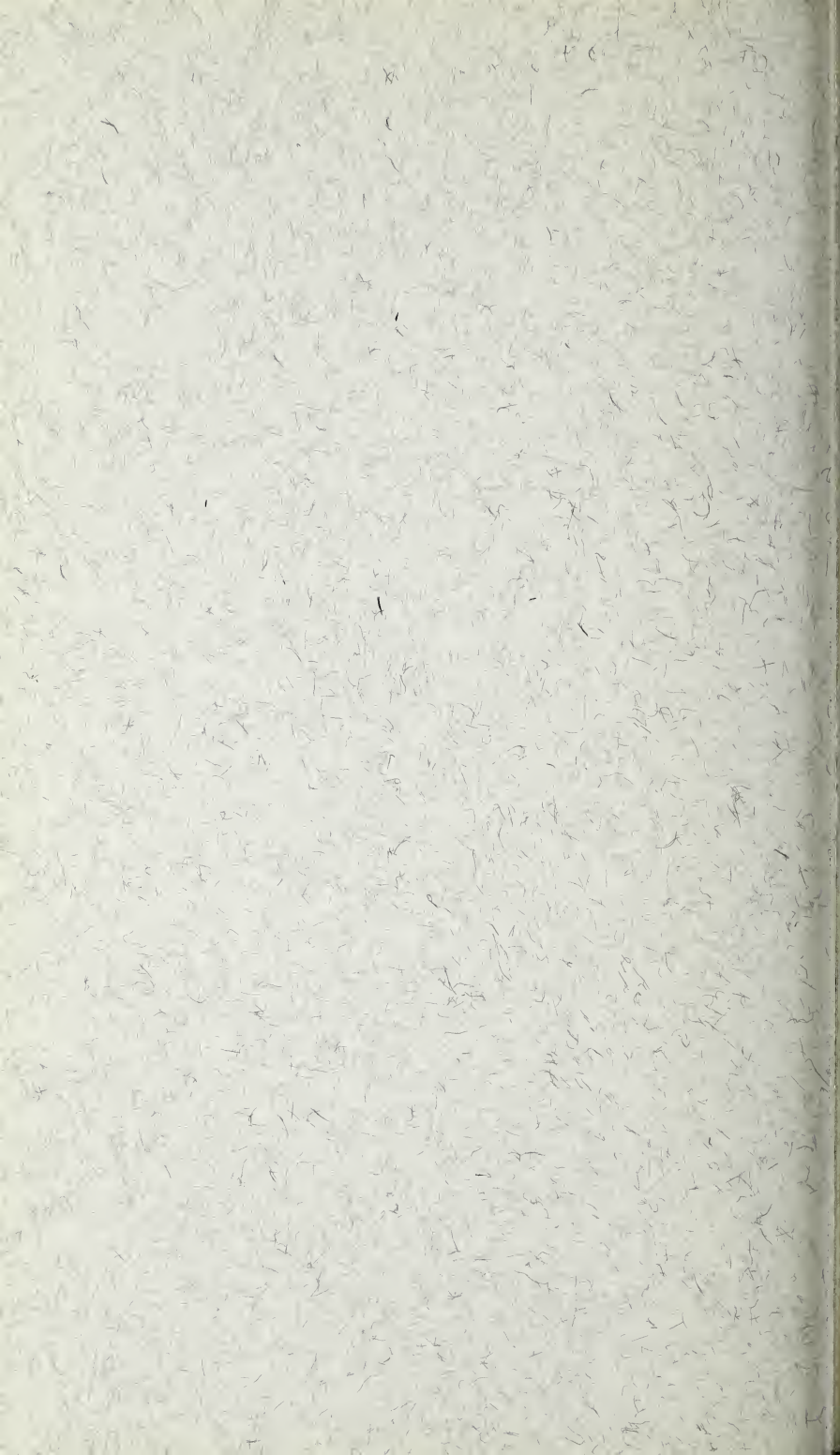
TENTH
ANNUAL REPORT
— OF THE —
Hawaiian Historical Society
— FOR —
THE YEAR 1903
WITH PAPERS.



HONOLULU, H. T.

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HAWAIIAN GAZETTE COMPANY, LTD.
1903.

KRAUS REPRINT CO.
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1978

OFFICERS 1903.

President	Dr. N. B. Emerson
1st Vice-President.....	Hon. S. B. Dole
2nd Vice-President.....	J. S. Emerson
3rd Vice-President.....	W. F. Allen
Recording Secretary	Hon. W. F. Frear
Corresponding Secretary	Prof. W. D. Alexander
Treasurer and Librarian.....	Miss M. A. Burbank

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD JANU-
ARY 12, 1903.

The annual meeting of the Society was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall at 7:30 p. m., January 12, 1903, the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The following were elected members of the Society on the recommendation of the Board of Managers:

Corresponding members: Dr. Titus Munson Coan, of New York; Dr. Anton Blomberg of Stockholm, Sweden, and Comthur Milan Paul Iovanovic, of Austria.

Active members: A. S. Hartwell, Ed. Towse, L. D. Timmons and Edgar Henriques.

Reports for the year were then read by the Treasurer and Librarian, Miss M. A. Burbank, and by the Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander. These were all accepted and ordered printed in the annual report.

The following officers were re-elected for the coming year:

Dr. N. B. Emerson, President.

Gov. S. B. Dole, First Vice-President.

Mr. J. S. Emerson, Second Vice-President.

Mr. W. F. Allen, Third Vice-President.

Prof. W. D. Alexander, Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. W. F. Frear, Recording Secretary.

Miss M. A. Burbank, Treasurer and Librarian.

Prof. Alexander then read an unpublished chapter in regard to the uncompleted Annexation Treaty of 1854, written originally by Mrs. L. F. Judd for her book published in 1880; also a copy of a letter dated September 18, 1855, written by Barnum W.

Field to R. W. Wood, in regard to the Treaty of Reciprocity negotiated in 1855, but which failed of ratification by the Senate of the United States. Both of these were requested for publication in the annual report.

Mr. L. A. Thurston stated that about five years ago, when in Salt Lake City, he was shown a diary of the United States Commissioner at Honolulu at the time of the Annexation Treaty of 1854, and that he took a copy of it, which he intended to present to the Society at a future time. He was requested to do so.

Vice-President J. S. Emerson then took the chair while the President, Dr. Emerson, read the paper of the evening on the Mamala hoa. This was requested for publication.

Remarks were made by J. S. Emerson, C. J. Lyons, Prof. W. D. Alexander, Chas. W. Wilcox and Rev. A. Mackintosh.

Mr. Wm. A. Bryan moved that a committee of five be appointed to bring before other organizations and the Legislature the matter of marking the sites of important historical events. This was seconded and carried. The President stated that he would name the committee later.

Mr. A. F. Judd made some remarks in regard to a Hawaiian bibliography.

The meeting adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1902. (Inclusive)

RECEIPTS.

Jan. 1 Balance on hand	\$ 50 33
Interest on McBryde bonds	120 00
Collection of members' dues	167 00
Sale of pamphlets	50
Total receipts for the year	\$ 337 83
	\$ 337 83

EXPENDITURES.

Dec. 31	
Deposited in Bishop's Savings Bank	\$ 150 00
Paid Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., for books	3 77
Fee on money order	10
Postage stamps	2 00
Postal cards	50
Wrappers	10
Hawaiian Gazette Co., for printing Ninth Annual Report	33 00
Hawaiian Gazette Co., for binding	2 30
Janitor's salary for eleven months	16 50
Janitor, for poisoning shelves	20 00
C. J. Peterson, commissions on collections of members' dues	9 20
Librarian's salary for the year	100 00
Total expenditures for the year	\$ 337 47
Balance on hand	36
	\$ 337 83

M. A. BURBANK, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1902.

While it is much to be regretted that no meeting of our Society has been held since the last annual meeting, we have reason to hope that next year will not be as barren in visible results as the past.

It is not yet too late to save many remnants of ancient Hawaiian folk-lore and poetry, while there is a wealth of unpublished material in both public and private collections relating to the period immediately following the introduction of the art of writing.

I am glad to be able to state that Dr. Emerson's translation of David Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities" is at last in press, and will be issued early in the spring. The beautiful and elaborate monograph on "Ancient Hawaiian Stone Work," lately published by Prof. W. T. Brigham, not only sustains the high reputation of its author, but is a valuable contribution to the ethnology of the Pacific Ocean. We shall look with interest for the succeeding numbers of the series of Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Museum. We understand that Dr. Emerson's work on the "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii," which has been spoken of in a former report, will be published in New York during the coming year.

It is to be hoped that the publication of David Malo's book may be followed by that of a translation of S. M. Kamakau's history of Kamehameha I.

One of our members who has been examining the picture writings discovered on the rocks at Koloa, Kauai, also near Makapuu Point and elsewhere, is about to publish the results of his researches.

It is rumored that several historical novels treating of romantic episodes in Hawaiian history are in course of preparation.

Hon. G. D. Gilman's Journals of his Tours through the Islands during the "forties" have lately been received by the Society, and no doubt contain graphic pictures of the olden time.

Another member, Mr. Ed Towse, has made some historical researches of which he will give us the benefit this evening.

Our valued corresponding member, S. Percy Smith, Esq., is publishing a valuable series of papers in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, on the Island of Niue, *alias* Savage Island, and its people. Mr. Basil Thomson's entertaining book on the same subject has lately been added to our library. We are much indebted to S. Percy Smith, Esq., for a complete set of the elaborate illustrated volumes on "Maori Art," published under the auspices of the New Zealand Institute.

From Mr. T. L. Young, formerly of Tahiti, now residing in Sydney, N. S. W., who probably has the finest collection of Easter Island relics in existence, we learn that he will soon publish the results of his studies of that interesting island. He believes that he has at last solved the mystery of the unique picture writing on the Easter Island tablets, which in his opinion is not of Peruvian origin, as many have supposed.

In conclusion, I beg leave to state again that not merely lengthy papers on special subjects, but any communications, however brief, on historical events, or traditions or ancient customs and beliefs, will be thankfully received by the directors of the Society.

Let me add that a new Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands, brought up to date is urgently needed, as the latest one, by Mr. J. F. Hunnewell, is out of print, having been published years ago.

W. D. ALEXANDER,

Corresponding Secretary.

A SUPPRESSED CHAPTER OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY
BY MRS. LAURA F. JUDD. READ BY PROF. W. D.
ALEXANDER.

(W. D. Alexander, introducing the subject, said: "I now have the pleasure of laying before the Society an interesting

passage which was excluded for prudential reasons from the narrative by the late Mrs. Laura Fish Judd, published in 1880, and for which we are indebted to the courtesy of her family. From internal evidence it would seem to have formed part of the 45th chapter, treating of the uncompleted treaty of annexation of 1854.

"Nearly half a century has passed since the events of which it treats, the object on which Kamehameha III. set his heart has been happily accomplished, and there is no longer any reason for keeping back the facts relating to it. The story is briefly told in my *History of the Hawaiian People*, pp. 277-8, and more fully in a monograph, published as No. 9 of the papers of this Society, but this statement throws new and important light on the secret history of that period.")

"I may now divulge a state secret. His Majesty, Kamehameha III., had determined long before these events to dispose of his crown, which had become one of thorns, to the highest bidder. When he sent the last embassy to the United States, England and France, after the French spoliations, he furnished Dr. Judd with powers, to which were affixed the royal signature and seal, with the instructions to make the best bargain possible for the disposal of the sovereignty of the Islands, in case of failure in negotiating honorable treaties with the governments to which he was accredited. What stronger proof could be given of his confidence in the fidelity of the Minister of Finance? I have seen these documents, and the knowledge that such unlimited power was delegated to my husband, frightened me with his responsibility. I was glad that he did not make use of them.

Under the administration of President Pierce the little Hawaiian Kingdom was looked upon with great favor. The road to Washington was very short, shorter probably than it ever will be again.

A project for annexation to the United States, alike honorable to both parties, was drawn up by Judge Lec, at the command of the king, and when approved was placed in the hands of the

Minister of Foreign Affairs with orders to negotiate with the American Commissioner a treaty upon this basis.

The following were some of his Majesty's reasons for desiring it: His subjects, native born, were decreasing at a fearful rate, in spite of liberal legislation, a superior civilization, and the ameliorating influences of the Gospel. The blood royal might become extinct, as the dynasty of the Kamehamehas hung on a few precarious lives. The king had, as yet, no reliable protection against the repetition of such treatment as he had received from Lord George Paulet and Admiral de Tromelin. His neighbor, Queen Pomare, was already a subject in her own dominions, which England had failed to protect against the French. That he escaped a similar fate, was owing to wiser counselors, and the good offices of the United States. All the commerce, and nearly every honorable and lucrative position, were already in the hands of foreigners, as well as large tracts of land. This foreign element would increase, and become more and more difficult to control, always requiring an administration of white men. He wanted money; and his people wanted money. Lands would go to piecemeal in mortgage, for sums borrowed at rates of interest fearfully ruinous. By accepting liberal terms, these wants would be met, and the young princes be amply provided with means with which to gratify their tastes for luxury and foreign travel without losing their prestige of birth, rank, and wealth.

The Hawaiians were not to be slaves to their new masters, as some ill-disposed people tried to persuade them, but special stipulations would leave them under the laws entitled to the rights of American citizens.

So impatient of delay did His Majesty become, that he urged Dr. Judd to charter a schooner privately and go with him to the coast, thence to Washington, where he would close the bargain in person. Dr. Judd assured him that much as he favored the measure of annexation, he could aid it only as it was openly, honorably, and unanimously approved.

It was not strange that the young prince, the heir presumptive to the throne, should withhold his consent to the treaty. He had not yet tasted the sweets of supreme power, nor felt the thorns in the royal crown.

Time rolled on, and if his Majesty relinquished, under pressure, his Minister of Finance, he did not the scheme of making his kingdom a part and parcel of the United States.

The prospect of it suited the foreigners, gave fresh energy to every branch of business, and increased the value of real estate. Heavy capitalists from the adjoining coast were ready to invest their money in public improvements and plantations. American ships-of-war were at hand, anticipating the honor of bearing the important documents, signed and sealed, to Washington."

Prof. Alexander adds: "On page 227 of Mrs. Judd's book we read as follows: 'The signatures were yet wanting. His Majesty more determined and impatient than over, when he was taken suddenly ill, and died in three weeks,' Dec. 15, 1854.

"At the request of his successor, Kamehameha IV., the negotiations that had been carried on with the U. S. Commissioner, Mr. Gregg, were broken off, and Chief Justice W. L. Lee was sent as ambassador to Washington, where he concluded a treaty of reciprocity July 20, 1855."

Kamehameha III, no ka Lokomaikai o ke Akua, ke 'Lii o ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina.

Ia Gerrit Parmile Judd, ka'u kauwa aloha i hilina'i nui ia.

KAUOHA MALU.

Ina paha e hooiaio ole ia ko'u Kuokoa ana, ina e popilikia paha no ka hana ana a kekahi Aupuni, a e lilo ana paha ko'u Alii ana i mea ole a i mea kulanalana loa paha, a e pilikia hou (ko'u) Aina Hooilina Alii i ke Kaua kumuole, a ina paha no kekahi kumu e ae e ike ai oe he pono keia kauoha ke hanaia; Ke Kauoha, a ke Haawi aku nei au ia oe, ma ko'u aoao, e hoo-halahala a e hooholo i Kuikahi me kekahi Alii, Peresidena, Aupuni, a Luna Aupuni paha, no ka hoolilo ana i ko'u Pae Aina malalo o ka hoomalu ana, a o ke Alii ana o kekahi Aina e.

A ke kauoha aku nei hoi au ia oe me ka haawi aku ia oe ka hooalahala a me ka hooholo i olelo ae-like no ke kuai ana, a e kuai aku i ko'u Alii ana, ke manao oe he pono, he naauao

ia, no na kumu i kakauia maluna, a no na kumu e ae paha. Eia no nae ia'u ka hooholo a me ka hooholo ole i ke Kuikahi a i ka olelo ae-like paha au i hana ai ma kou aoao. A ma keia Palapala ua haawiia ia oe ka hiki pono ke hoohalahala kuai, a me ke kuai aku i ko'u mau Aina pono, a me na Aina o ko'u poe Alii, eia no nae ia'u ka ae a me ka hoole, aia no hoi i ko'u poe Alii ka ae a me ka hoole i ka olelo au e hooholo ai.

Hanaia ma ko'u Hale Alii, Honolulu, Oahu, ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina, i keia la ehiku o Sepatemaba, M. H. 1849.

KAMEHAMEHA.

(SEAL)

KEONI ANA.

By the King and the Premier.

R. C. WYLLIE,

Minister of Foreign Relations.

Kamehameha III. By the Grace of God, of the Hawaiian Islands, King.

To our trusty and well beloved subject Gerrit Parmile Judd.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS.

In case our Independence be not fully recognized, be endangered by the acts of any other Government, or our Sovereignty in peril or rendered of no value, our Royal Domain being exposed to further hostile attacks without just and good reasons, or from any other cause you may find these Instructions necessary. These are to command and empower you, on your behalf to treat and negotiate with any King, President or Government or Agent thereof for the purpose of placing our Islands under foreign Protection and Rule.

And you are hereby further commanded and empowered to treat and negotiate for the sale of and to sell our Sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands, if, for reasons above mentioned, or for other good causes you may deem it wise and prudent so to do, reserving in all cases unto US the Ratification of any Treaty or Convention you may sign on our behalf.

And you are hereby further empowered to bargain for and sell all our Private Lands, and those of our Chiefs, subject to our Ratification and the free concurrence of our Chiefs.

Done at the Palace, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, this seventh day of September, A. D. 1849.

KAMEHAMEHA.

(SEAL)

KEONI ANA.

By the King and Premier.

R. C. WYLLIE,

Minister of Foreign Relations.

APROPOS OF RECIPROCITY TREATY OF 1855-6

Honolulu, Sept. 18, 1855.

R. W. WOOD, Esqr.,

Koloa.

My dear Sir:—I arrived here on Sunday p. m., at 4 o'clock after a passage of forty-one days from New York and was disappointed in not finding you at Honolulu, as I was extremely anxious to communicate to you verbally the news that I was the bearer of. It was my good fortune to bring with me from New York the Treaty negotiated by Judge Lee at Washington on 20th July. You must of course be anxious to know the character of the Treaty and below you will find the all important points which I give with much pleasure to you.

Schedule of Articles to be admitted from Hawaiian Islands free of duty into Ports of the United States, when of Hawaiian growth or manufacture:

Muscovado, brown, clayed and all other unrefined Sugars.

Syrups of Sugar.

Molasses.

Coffee.

Arrow Root.

Live Stock.

Animals of all kinds.

Cotton unmanufactured.

Seeds and vegetables not preserved.

Undried fruits not preserved.

Poultry. Eggs.

Plants. Shrubs and trees.

Pelts. Wool unmanufactured. Rags.

Hides.	Furs.	} Undressed.
Skins.		

Butter.

Tallow.

Hawaiian Islands from the United States (when of American growth or manufacture) free of duty:

Flour of wheat.

Fish of all kinds.

Coal.

Timber and lumber of all kinds, round, hewed and sawed, unmanufactured in whole or in part.

Staves and heading.

Cotton unmanufactured.

Seeds and vegetables not preserved. Undried fruits not preserved.

Poultry. Eggs.

Plants. Shrubs and trees.

Pelts. Wool unmanufactured.

Rags.

Hides.

Furs.	} Undressed.
Skins.	

Butter.

Tallow.

To go into effect as soon as passed by Congress and approved by the King.

To remain in force seven years from the date at which it may go into operation, and further until the expiration of twelve months after either of the parties shall give notice of its wish to terminate the same. Each party having liberty to give such notice at any time after the end of said seven years.

You will note that the Judge was successful in the fullest degree and that the last clause in the Treaty (seven years, &c.), is a diplomatic touch of W. L. Marcy. I met Mr. Wyllie this morning and he informs me that the Treaty was yesterday approved by the King and will go forward in the mail that leaves today.

The President and Mr. Marcy said to Judge Lee, that there would not be any difficulty in having the Treaty ratified by Congress.

Shall you be at Honolulu soon? I would like much to see you. Judge Lee and Mrs. Lee wished to be remembered to you and Mrs. Wood. My kindest regards to Mrs. Wood, Mr. and Mrs. Burbank.

With my hopes that the Treaty pleases you,

I am

Your friend and servant,

BARNUM W. FIELD.

The above letter is an exact copy of the original letter, written by Barnum W. Field to R. W. Wood, Esq., and dated "Honolulu, September 18, 1855," and now in the hands of Mrs. Charles L. Riddle, of 15 Everett St. Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Signed JAMES DRUMMOND DOLE.

Jamaica Plain, Mass.

May 4th, 1902.

This treaty failed of ratification by the U. S. Senate, and twenty more years were destined to pass away before the boon of reciprocity was attained.

W. D. A.

MAMALA-HOA.

EVENTS IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING THE DEATH
OF KALANIOPU'U—KAMEHAMEHA'S AFFRAY AT
KEAAU—THE SLAUGHTER AT KAWAIHAE—THE
MAMALA-HOA EDICT — OBSERVATIONS ON
KAMEHAMEHA'S CHARACTER AND POLICY.

(Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, at its annual meeting in Honolulu, H. I., January 12, 1903, by Dr. N. B. Emerson.

The record of History may be considered as a series of approximations, each one coming in some perceptible degree nearer to the truth. The course of Hawaiian History during the last two decades of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth century is so closely interwoven with the life of the great conqueror Kamehameha, that the dislocation of any important event in his career, or the failure to gain for it an achromatic setting in the focus of truth, distorts and confuses the whole picture. One such incident in the life of the great chief is called by the Hawaiians *Ka-lele-iki*, and upon this I shall attempt to shed more light—reflected though it may be, from men whose memories are still charged with the chronicles of those days. It concerns the adventure that Kamehameha engaged in at Keaau, in Puna, Hawaii, where the life of the warrior came within a hair's breadth of being summarily terminated—a fortune, which, it need hardly be said, would have turned the whole after history of Hawaii into far different channels.

Ka-lani-opu'u, the aged king of Hawaii, died in April, 1782, leaving his domain to his son, Kiwalao; while to his nephew, Kamehameha, he consigned, according to previous arrangement, the famous war-god *Ku-kaili-moku*. With this other-world gift the king probably gave—according to custom—certain lands to Kamehameha, the income of which was nominally for the support

of the idol. Besides this Kamehameha inherited as a patrimony an estate in Halawa, Kohala, and also possessed, as it would appear, valuable lands in Kona, and perhaps in Waipio.

After this events follow in swift succession; they may be summarized as follows:

Kiwalao, the new king, with a large retinue and many warriors moves along the Kona coast in a fleet of canoes towards Honaunau, where stood the venerable Hale-o-Keawe, the mausoleum of Hawaii's royal dead. Word is given out—rightly or wrongly—that this royal progress and funeral procession will be continued as far as to Kailua—an action, if consummated, that would mean nothing less than a threat of land-grabbing and of war. The king, Kiwalao, and his cousin, Kamehameha, have a pathetic meeting at Kaawaloa, on which occasion Kiwalao seems to be greatly depressed by the shadow of coming doom. The king, as he stands on a platform in front of the royal sepulchre, goes through the form of declaring the will of Ka-lani-opu'u.

Later the royal cousins attend an awa-drinking entertainment at Honaunau, at which Kiwalao, either thoughtlessly or of set purpose, insults Kamehameha by passing on to a favorite the cup which Kamehameha had expressly prepared for the king. The famous old warrior, Ke-kuhau-pi'o, a Kona chief, and one of the first to appreciate Kamehameha's fitness for kingship, resents and denounces the affront on the instant, and forces the withdrawal of Kamehameha from the scene. This incident, though in itself apparently insignificant, is worthy of mention as a tell-tale straw.

Before we consider the question of the allotment of lands, we must pause to remember that the system of land-tenure in ancient Hawaii was mostly feudal, that the king was theoretically and practically the owner of all the lands in his domain, and assigned them at his pleasure to his chiefs and favorites, and they in turn to those under them; that although the sovereign could revoke the gift at will, he could give what was in reality but a life interest, since when a new sovereign came into power he and his counsellors could decide on grounds of state policy or favoritism whether or not a new division should take place.

At the time of the allotment of lands then, after the death of Ka-lani-opu'u, Keawe-ma'u-hili, under the pretence of carrying out the wishes of Ka-lani-opu'u, manages to persuade Kiwala-o into a division of lands that shall give Keawe-ma'u-hili himself the lion's portion, and shall rob Kamehameha, and his supporters, Ke'e-au-moku, Ka-me'e-ia-moku, Ke-ku-hau-pi'o and others of possessions that heretofore had been theirs. As can be imagined, the Kona chiefs found the situation intolerable and exclaimed, not unreasonably, "*Ua aho e kaua*," (it is better to go to war.)

Keoua, the half brother of Kiwala-o, finding himself one of those who are to be neglected in the division of land, draws off his forces and is the first one to commit an overt act, which he does in the neighboring hamlet of Keomo, where—illogically enough—he destroys the property, cuts down the coco-nut trees and takes the lives of men belonging to Kamehameha; illogically, it seems, because Kamehameha is to be despoiled, and they can therefore in a degree sympathize with each other; and up to this time Kamehameha has not shown himself one of the offending party.

The fuel has been gathered together; it needs but a spark to kindle the fires of war. The action of Keoua supplies this.

Now comes the battle of Moku-ohai, marked by the incident of Ke'e-au-moku's temporary disablement and downfall, the serio-comic, small-minded anxiety of Kiwala-o as to the safety of the *lei palaoa* about the neck of the fallen hero, the rush made by Kamehameha's men to rescue their prostrate general, and the retribute death of Kiwala-o at the hands of Keeaumoku.

Victory perches on the standard of Kamehameha; the king's body is food for the altars of the gods; the allied royal forces are utterly defeated and scattered. The result is a land-division quite different from that which had been proposed, for to Kamehameha Kona, Kohala and Hamakua now belong by right of conquest.

Keawe-ma'u-hili, who was taken prisoner in battle, escapes through the connivance of his guards and makes his way across the interior of Hawaii to Hilo, where he declares his independence of both Kamehameha and Keoua and claims for himself

the sovereignty of the island, though in reality his power covers only the district of Hilo and the adjoining parts of Hamakua to the North and of Puna to the South.

Keoua flees from the field of defeat and reaches Kau, where he is acknowledged as *moi* and the successor in the kingdom to his brother Kiwalaó.

At this point let us pause for a moment and enquire:

(1) Why was it that Keoua, justly dissatisfied with the proposed new allotment of real estate, chose Keomo as the place for the exhibition of his grievance?

(2) Why did Kiwalaó and Keawe-ma'u-hili range themselves on the side of the malcontent and rebel Keoua in the battle of Moku-ohai? These are questions that do not find explanation in any version of the affair that I am acquainted with.

Keoua and Kamehameha and the powerful war-chiefs who sided with the latter, whose lands to a large extent lay in Kona, were the ones that had cause for complaint, having been slighted or robbed in the land division. Why did they not side together?

As for Kiwalaó, he had expressed the desire that Kamehameha should not be forgotten in the distribution of lands, and he had condoled with Keoua on the fact of his having been slighted. In view of these facts, it is pertinent to ask, as touching the consistency of Kiwalao, why, when the affair has come to the arbitrament of battle, we find him committing himself to the side of Keoua, and against Kamehameha and his war-chiefs?

To account for this situation, it seems necessary to suppose the existence of some secret understanding between Keoua, Keawe-ma'u-hili and King Kiwalaó. Exactly what this was cannot be affirmed, but it is plausible to suppose that it involved the stripping of Kamehameha and his party for the enrichment of the others. Without the assumption of some thing of this sort, the action of Keoua at Keomo, and the part played by Kiwalaó and Keawe-ma'u-hili in the battle of Moku-ohai, are aberrant and illogical; with it they are natural and easy of explanation. Kamehameha — under this name we include his whole party—Kamehameha was powerful; therefore to be feared; rich in lands the most coveted in the whole island; therefore to be robbed.

In whose mind did the plot for Kamehameha's despoilment originate? In whose else but that of Keawe-ma'u-hili, the Machiavel, the intriguer, the unjust steward of the period? It could never have been conceived in the spiritless brain of Kiwalaó, although the plot once proposed, Kiwala-o's acquiescent nature would not have persisted in withholding his consent.

The death of Kiwala-o and the victory of Kamehameha at the battle of Moku-ohai have precipitated a rearrangement of the political and war forces of Hawaii that is kaleidoscopic. The big island is split up into three independent and hostile factions. It is a contest between kinsmen, in which each one is able to find strong justification for his action and attitude; a justification that has weight with the historian today as it no doubt had weight at the time in satisfying the conscience of each antagonist in this three-cornered situation. Keawe-ma'u-hili is able to salve his conscience and justify his claims on the ground that his is the unimpeachable blue blood; that he is the highest *kapu* chief in the land, the brother of Ka-lani-opu'u, the actual prime minister and head counselor of Kiwala-o. In holding Hilo, he is but keeping his own; in claiming the whole kingdom, he is but seeking his rights. While Keoua, in taking Kau is but retaining what was his own right by previous possession and what is now accorded him by the unanimous voice of the people. The crown, or whatever symbolized the office of sovereign, had fallen in battle—at the death of Kiwala-ó—and must now belong to the strong hand that should seize it and hold it. Kamehameha for his part lay claim to the three districts, Kona, Kohala and Hamakua as his by right of conquest, and to the whole kingdom by virtue of his being the sole representative of lawful authority, after the death of his cousin, King Kiwala-ó, under whom he should have been recognized as the first man in the kingdom, had the provisions of Ka-lani-opu'u's will been carried out.

The advantages possessed by Kamehameha, as compared with those of his opponents, were many, among which should be mentioned first the power of making and keeping friends. On his side were the two most accomplished warriors, Ke-kuhau-pi'o and Kee-au-moku, as well as Ka-mee-ia-moku, Ka-manawa and Keawe-a-Heulu, each one of them able to muster a full

thousand of armed men; and the fact of Kamehameha's having such staunch allies is a proof not only of the high esteem in which he was held but of his great personal magnetism. Another advantage to Kamehameha was that the position in which he now found himself was not so much of his own choosing or planning as one to which he had been called.

"It is certain, moreover," says Mr. Fernander, "that it was the great Kona chiefs who sought him out—not he them—when their personal fears for their own possessions made them contemplate and counsel revolt as an escape from the unfair division of the lands which they apprehended under the new regime. It was their urgent solicitations, and the prospect of a crown, which they held out, that moved Kamehameha from his quiet retreat in Kohala." The advantage seems to lie on the side of Kamehameha.

The next move was made by Kamehameha and resulted in the battle at Waiakea—generally spoken of as the *Kaua Awa*—in which the land forces of the attacking party, led by Kamehameha in person, were routed by those of Keawe-ma'u-hili aided by a body of men lent by Kahekili of Maui. Luckily for Kamehameha, his fleet of war-canoes, commanded by his trusty general Kee-aumoku, was hovering along the coast and formed the bridge by which he and the remains of his army succeeded in escaping to Laupahoehoe, not many miles away.

Thus far in my narrative of events I have followed with but little deviation, if any, the account of Mr. Fernander which he has given in greater detail than any other of the writers on Hawaiian history. But from this point I shall be obliged to disagree radically not only with Fernander but with all other authorities who have written on this topic.

The first and chief authority on which I rely as my warrant for making this bold departure from the accepted records is the statement of a Hawaiian of this place named Ka-lei-mauoha, now some sixty-five years old, who derived his information, he says, from a Kona chief named Ka-maka-noe, in or about the year 1864, at a time when my informant was living with that chief at Kaha-lu'u. Ka-maka-noe, though an old man—of some eighty years—at the time of making this statement, did not claim to have

witnessed the affair at Keaau, but told the story as related to him by one Keawe-opala—also a native of the same district—who was a soldier with Kamehameha's army and was present at Keaau on the occasion of the Ka-lele-iki adventure. I can personally vouch for Ka-lei-mauoha as having a remarkably good memory; and from an acquaintance of several years I have formed a great respect for his honesty and truthfulness. He is one of the old style of Hawaiians, and his countenance and whole make-up testify to his reliability. The story is also confirmed in all essential points by Polikapa, an old Hawaiian of this town, who will need no introduction to many in this audience. It is hardly necessary to state that in the preparation of this paper I have freely availed myself of the work done by David Malo, Kamakau, Dibble, Jarves, Fornander, and of our own historian Professor Alexander. To all of these I would make due acknowledgements. In the passages where I have used the language of these authorities, I have endeavored to indicate the fact.

After his campaign against Keawe-ma'u-hili, which resulted in Kamehameha's defeat and in so much vilification and heart-burning on both sides that it was called the "*Kaua aewa*," bitter war, Kamehameha remained for some time—months probably—at Lau-pahoehoe repairing damages and pluming his wings for another flight. Then, assembling his army in his fleet of canoes he followed the coast in the direction of Puna; but, stopping short of that district, he drew ashore at Waiakea in Hilo.

In this statement I am flatly contradicting the accepted authorities. Fornander, for instance, states that in the expedition now to be described Kamehameha went with his own war-canoe and its crew alone, without making his object known to his counsellors and unaccompanied by any of them. He makes no mention of the stay at Waiakea and asserts that Kamehameha went directly to Keaau, in Puna. There are also other discrepancies between the account give by Fornander and that which I shall present.

Now at Keaau, only a few miles from Wai-akea, lived a low chief, or *konohiki*, of considerable weight of character, whose name, *Ku-uku*, is said to have tallied well with his person. "He was such a slight body," said my informant, "that a powerful

man like Kamehameha could lift him with one hand as he would a child." It was to be near this man and to consult with him that Kamehameha made his present move.

Ku-uku was one who stood between the two warring parties. Though nominally attached to the party of Keawe-ma'u-hili on whose side he had fought in the last battle, that of the *Kaua area* at Waiakea, he was so little of a partizan that had his desire prevailed, both sides would have thrown down their arms and come to terms. If the report that has come to me may be credited, his inclination was to act on a small scale as an armed intermediary, ready to uphold whichever chief should be unjustly assailed; always provided, however, that by so doing he could see the way clear to the promotion of peace. Furthermore, it is said that Ku-uku and Kamehameha sustained towards each other that peculiar Hawaiian relation which is indicated in the word *punalua*, the woman being Ku-uku's wife Kane-ka-po-lei, to whom is accredited the motherhood of Kamehameha's natural child Ka-olei-o-ku. Does it not then appear the most natural thing in the world that Kamehameha should approach Ku-uku, in the hope of winning him to his own side by his personal influence?

Keawe-ma'uhili, it should be explained, had withdrawn from Hilo-one with his forces and was at this time somewhere in the wilderness back of Kau with Keoua. He had, says my informant, by a revulsion of feeling become averse to continuing the war offensively with his "*keiki*," Kamehameha. This statement as to Keawe-ma'u-hili's location and disposition, it is true, will account for Kamehameha's ability to make the move he did and to post his army at Waiakea, without exposing himself to the danger of immediate attack from the forces of Keawe-ma'u-hili.

After remaining at Waiakea for some weeks—or months, as my informant says—one day Kamehameha set sail with his whole fleet, moving along the Puna coast, purposing to visit his friend Ku-uku at Keaau. His own double canoe, well manned with warriors, led the way. The main body of the fleet followed, separated from him by a considerable interval. When Kamehameha had arrived opposite a small cove at a place called Pa-a'i,

in Keaau, he spied a fishing craft with five men aboard who were making for the shore after having spent the night at sea.

No words were exchanged between Kamehameha's party and the fishermen. These recognized the fleet as that of an enemy and, being attached to the side of Keoua, and fearful of being plundered, they made all haste to reach the shore. At the same time Kamehameha rushed his own canoe in such a course as to intercept the fishermen, if possible, his acknowledged purpose being robbery.

The fishermen made the beach first; hastily hauled up their canoe; shouldered their belongings and started inland. The names of two of the party have been handed down, Naone-a-La'a and Ka-lau-a'i. The three others less encumbered with baggage, made good their escape, and their names are lost to fame.

Kamehameha's canoe struck the beach a moment too late. Regardless of rank and personal dignity, he jumped to land and gave chase after the two men. Several of his own soldiers, men of great strength, trained athletes, it is said, made a move to follow their leader; but Kamehameha would have it an affair of his own and lifted his hand with a forbidding gesture that compelled them to keep their places. In fact there existed an unwritten code of honor, by which all persons were forbidden to take sides in a contest between two individuals, a rule, however, which did not apply in battle.

Kamehameha came up with the fisherman Ka-lau-a'i, seized hold of him; shook him and tried to wrench away from him the coveted net he was carrying upon his shoulders. Ka-lau-a'i seems merely to have stood on the defensive and not to have struck a blow for his own protection; but in spite of this, Kamehameha did not succeed in overthrowing him or getting possession of the coveted net. While engaged in this scuffle, one of Kamehameha's feet became wedged in a hole or crevice of the lava plain and was held fast. This gave Ka-lau-a'i his opportunity and he escaped. Kamehameha could not give pursuit; but he tore up from its bed a large piece of rock and hurled it at his fleeing enemy with such good aim and such force that it was shattered by the hala tree, behind which the fisherman had run for shelter. At this moment Naone took part in the

contest; he threw down four of the paddles of the company which he had been carrying on his shoulders, but kept one as a club with which he struck Kamehameha a stunning blow on the forehead; then leaving the invading chieftain on the ground, unconscious and bleeding, the daring fisherman joined his companion in flight.

And so Naone and Ka-lau-a'i escaped unhurt; the aggressor and would-be robber lay bleeding and stunned, his foot gripped fast in its rocky fetter. The people on the canoe, seeing Kamehameha's trouble, came quickly to his relief and, having taken him aboard, conveyed him in a prostrate condition to the residence of his friend Ku-uku, where for a time he lay between life and death. But the powers of nature were in his favor and after a day or two of doubtful struggle, he came to himself and was able to converse and turn his thoughts to his affairs.

The smoke from the incense that belongs to hero-worship blinds the eyes of the worshippers and magnifies the attributes of their heroes. Kamehameha's case is no exception to that of heroes generally; his personal strength and prowess have been greatly exaggerated. In *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, the Rev. J. F. Pogue, says that Kamehameha's escape from death on this occasion was due to his great strength,—“*a no ka mui o kona ikaika i pakele ai oia, mai make ia la*,”—an assertion that moved my Hawaiian informant to the most emphatic denial. “Kamehameha was not able,” said he, “to overcome Ka-lau-a'i even when the latter was heavily burdened with a fishing net. Ka-lau-a'i was the stronger man; and as to Naone, he was a famous athlete. No, Kamehameha owed his life not to his strength, but to the clemency and self-restraint of the two men. If Naone had indulged himself in another blow, which was clearly his right, as being the attacked party, Kamehameha would have been a dead man.”

Though Naone and his companion had been able to repulse the onset of Kamehameha and to make their escape, they could not long remain concealed from the search of Kamehameha's men who were in such numbers as to overrun the land and who would have torn them limb from limb, but that Kamehameha had issued strict orders that they should not be harmed. It was indeed

not without grumbling that Kamehameha's fierce warriors restrained themselves when Naone and Ka-lau-a'i were at length in their power; but they dared not disobey a master whose will was law, and whose command had been to have the daring offenders brought before him unhurt, that he might deal with them according to his pleasure. It is said that while Kamehameha lay sick and wounded in the house of Ku-uku, Naone and Ka-lau-a'i being still at large, his chiefs came to him and said, "Oh king, shall we ravage Keaau with fire and spear?"

Kamehameha's head was still bundled for its wound when the two prisoners, obedient to his orders, crawled into his presence, evidently set on meeting their fate like soldiers, if they were to be doomed to death.

Kamehameha propped himself on the elbow, made a slight inclination upon recognizing the men and then grunted out, "Ehe! . . . Sit there." Then, looking them over, he said to Naone, "Are you the man who struck me on the head?"

"Yes, I am he," was the reply.

"You gave me but one blow, did you?" asked Kamehameha.

"Yes, but one," admitted Naone.

"Why didn't you strike a second time?" demanded Kamehameha.

"I thought the one blow would have sufficed to kill you," said the culprit boldly.

There was a pause; then the king resumed, "You are a soldier. I had flattered myself that I was to be the one to do the hurting; but it turned out that I was mistaken, and I was the one that was hurt."

Then, after a moment, Kamehameha said, "I was in the wrong in making the attack. My *kahu* used to tell me that violence and robbery (*pakaha*) were evil and should be punished with death." If I live I will make a law against robbery and violence and lay on it the penalty of death." With this announcement Kamehameha dismissed the two men bidding them go to their homes in peace. But the gift of their lives was not all he conferred upon them; to Naone he gave the land—*ahu-pua'a*—on which stood the house where he then lay, and

to Ka-lau-a'i the land that included the place where the affray took place, lands which Naone and Ka-lau-a'i are said to have retained all their lives.

It is almost superfluous to say that Naone and Ka-lau-a'i became the most ardent and faithful adherents of Kamehameha's cause, ready to go to any extremity in his behalf. They not only joined his army, but, being men of influence, they drew many others with them. It is furthermore reported that in after years, when they heard the news of Kamehameha's death, they went out in the woods and hanged themselves—a pitiful climax to their devotion.

One of the results of the incident at Keaau was the law directed against the very thing of which Kamehameha had there been guilty, and this law was called the *Kanarwai Mamala-hoa*, in memory of the unhappy affair at Keaau. (The meaning of the word *Mamala-hoa* is splintered paddle.)

As to the words in which the law itself was embodied, they were nothing more or less than those oft quoted words which seem to have been generally misunderstood as being a statement of historical fact, "E hele ka elemakule a moe i ke ala, e hele ka luahine a moe i ke ala, e hele ke keiki a moe i ke ala." (Let the aged, men and women, and little children lie down (in security) in the road.) And this is all there is to it. It has a rugged simplicity that comports well with Siani, "Thou shalt; . . . thou shalt not." No penalty is attached; but in the background there loom up the unknown possibilities of a powerful autocratic will, that is at once a law-giver, judge and executioner, visions of death and the imu, or any other punishment the king might choose to inflict.

The time when the *Mamala-hoa* edict was first enacted is not definitely settled. According to one view the command of Kamehameha that secured the lives of Naone and his companion was itself an instance of the application of the law. I should be more inclined to the view that, while it sprang from the motive, the *Mamala-hoa* law as an enactment was a later enunciation.

I should argue from Kamehameha's repentant confession of fault to Naone, acknowledging that he had done wrong, and

his pardon of the man who had felled him to the earth with a blow on that most sacred part, the head, that there had already sprung up in his mind a dim sentiment which he did not fully express until it developed into the *Mamala-hoa* Act.

Another view, equally tenable and perhaps more probable, is that at least the first application of this law, if not its enunciation, was at Kawaihae, in 1792, after ten long years of warring between Kamehameha and Keoua. During this decade the cause of Kamehameha has advanced, while that of Keoua has remained stationary, or relatively declined. The blows struck by Kamehameha had been successfully repelled by Keoua; but there seems to be no prospect that either party will be able to establish a peace by offensive warfare. Matters remain at a deadlock.

At this juncture the ambassadors of Kamehameha, Keawe-a-Heulu and Kamanawa, make the journey to Kahuku, in Kau, and come into Keoua's presence with the usual prostrations and formal expressions of regard. Moved by their representations and intercessions, Keoua with a company of his followers numbering perhaps a thousand, sets forth in his canoes on the voyage to Kawaihae, there to submit himself and his cause to the man who, he sees, holds in his hands the destinies of the land. He is under the implied if not the explicit protection of Kamehameha's safe-conduct, and his only guarantee for his own safety and that of his people is the honor and good faith of Kamehameha.

As Keoua draws near to the landing place at Kawaihae and beholds the array of Kamehameha's fleet and army, his mind is oppressed with an over-clouding shadow of distrust and he observes, "It looks stormy ashore; the flight of the clouds is ominous of evil." ("Ino uka; ke lele ino mai nei ke ao.")

Armed men under the command of Ke'e-au-moku surround the double canoe of Keoua as it comes to the shore. The doomed chief, standing upon the *pola*, the central raised platform, exchanges greetings with Kamehameha. "Here am I," says he; and the king answers, "Rise and come up here that we may know each other." As Keoua leaps from his canoe, the treacherous spear of Ke'e-au-moku—the Joab of Hawaii—pierces

him. There is an ineffectual struggle for life, but Keoua dies on the spot.

He does not fall alone; he has many to keep him company; (he nui na moe pu.) Ke'e-au-moku continues the slaughter under the very eyes of Kamehameha and within reach of the sound of his voice, until—with but one exception—every one of Keoua's immediate escort, from the highest chief to the lowest, has poured out his blood.

The second and larger division of Keoua's escort, at some remove from the first, was under the command of Ka-olei-o-ku, Kamehameha's natural son, previously mentioned. The slaughter would have gone on and included these; but at this point Kamehameha interposes his veto.

"You have killed my hanai—foster-child, or foster-parent—"and I will kill yours," said Kelii-maikai. "He shall not die; he is the child of my youth," answered Kamehameha. The command of the king goes forth; the hand of the slayer is stayed, and the rapacious war-god Ku-kaili-moku has to be content with the victims already provided as sacrifices for his altars.

It was this upturning of the thumb by Kamehameha, this declaration of amnesty, by which many hundreds of innocent lives were rescued from impending death, that some authorities regard as the real Mamala-hoa edict.

One cannot but remark that Kamehameha did not embarrass himself by declaring the Mamala-hoa decree until he had first seen the blood of his inveterate enemy Keoua poured out before him.

As the record stands, how can the historian, who is at the same time a critic and a moralist, avoid mingling emotions of condemnation and abhorrence with the satisfaction with which he accepts the total result of such a life as that of Kamehameha? We may class Kamehameha with such characters as William the Conqueror, as an instrument of Evolution, of Providence, whose deeds, though unscrupulous and cruel, have borne better fruit than the man's intentions deserved. While we may thankfully accept the results of Evolution, we are not called upon to endorse with our moral approval the individual acts of its heroes.

Among the good deeds of Kamehameha the Great none is more praiseworthy than the Mamala-hoa decree. It cannot fail to recall to one's mind the accounts that have come down to us of the peace and security that crowned England when good King Alfred came to his own.

This paper has concerned itself with the incidents that marked the times and places usually accepted as those for the promulgation of the Mamala-hoa decree. As my last word, I must admit that I can find no definite statement that Kawaihae was the place, and the amnesty granted to Keoua's people the occasion for the utterance of the Mamala-hoa decree. The words of the law itself do not seem fitting either for such an occasion as that at Keaau or at Kawaihae, but rather for some other incident at a later time, when the whole land was united under the dominion of Kamehameha.

N. B. EMERSON.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR, JANUARY- DECEMBER, 1902.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Gentlemen:

The accessions to the Library for the year have been as follows:

"Savage Island," an account of a sojourn in Niué and Tonga, by Basil Thomson, purchased from Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

Several volumes of the publications of the "Bureau of American Ethnology," received from Washington.

"Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand," has been bound; also the "Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society."

A chest containing twenty-one books, some of which are in

manuscript, copied from various sources, books or papers, and some of which are scrap-books of clippings from newspapers, all intended to form a record of events in the Hawaiian Islands, with a table of the contents of each, compiled by the late Daniel Lyons; also a copy, bound volume, of "Nuhou," a first edition of "Jarves' History of the Hawaiian Islands," and a few pamphlets, was presented to the Hawaiian Historical Society by Col. J. H. Soper in behalf of some of the citizens who had subscribed to pay the Lyons heirs for this collection.

A number of old Hawaiian papers in both the Hawaiian and English languages should be bound when the files can be completed. At present, however, many numbers are missing, frequently whole volumes. If others have similar difficulty in completing files, an exchange might in some instances be effected, to the satisfaction of all concerned. Besides a complete set of the "Friend," there are several duplicates of the earlier volumes. The "Polynesian" lacks Vol. VIII, May 17, 1851, to May 8, 1852, and all subsequent to April 30, 1859; while there are duplicates of many volumes that we have, and in some cases as many as three duplicates.

The files of papers in the Hawaiian language are nearly all very incomplete.

A list of Hawaiian periodicals is appended, showing the completeness or incompleteness of the files. The names and dates are taken from "Hunnewell's Hawaiian Bibliography" and "Thrum's Annual." There is also a list of books appended, supplementary to the "Catalogue of Bound Books" among the papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY A. BURBANK,

Librarian.

BOOKS ADDED TO THE CATALOGUE OF BOUND BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"Ancient History, Studies in," comprising an inquiry into the origin of Exogamy—John Ferguson McLennan.

- "Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand"—Augustus Hamilton.
- "Banks, Sir Joseph, Journal of," during Captain Cook's first voyage in H. M. S. Endeavor in 1768-71—Edited by Sir Joseph Hooker.
- "Brown Men and Women of the South Sea Islands"—Edward Reeves.
- "Caroline Islands"—F. W. Christian.
- Choris, Louis—"Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde."
- Christian, F. W.—"The Caroline Islands: 'Travel in the Sea of the Little Lands.'"
- Featherman, A.—"Social History of the Races of Mankind." Second Division: Papuo and Malayo Melanesians.
- Freycinet, M. L.—Scientific Record of Voyage Around the World, 1817-20.
- Hale, Horatio—"Ethnography and Philology," in Scientific Records of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, 1838-42.
- Hamilton, Augustus—"The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand."
- "Hawaii, Affairs in,—Foreign Relations of the U. S., 1894. Appendix II."
- "Hawaiian Islands." Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate. Transmitted to Congress, Jan. 1, 1893-Mar. 4, '94.
- Hill, S. S.—"Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands".
- Hochstetter, Dr. Ferdinand von—"Neu Seeland."
- Hooker, Sir Joseph D., Editor—"Journal of Sir Joseph Banks during Captain Cook's First Voyage in H. M. S. Endeavor, 1768-71"
- "Indian Archipelago, the Languages of the,"—The Ethnology of the Indian Archipelago, embracing inquiries into the Continental Relations of the Indo-Pacific Islanders—J. R. Logan.
- Logan, J. R.—"The Languages of the Indian Archipelago"—The Ethnology of the Indian Archipelago, embracing inquiries into the Continental Relations of the Indo-Pacific Islanders.
- McLennan, John Ferguson—"Studies in Ancient History", Comprising an inquiry into the origin of Exogamy.
- "Maori Race in New Zealand, Art Workmanship of the,"—Augustus Hamilton.
- "Maoris, Our"—Lady Martin.
- Martin, Lady—"Our Maoris."
- Melville, Herman—"Omoo."
- "Neu Seeland"—Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter.
- "New Zealand, Old,"—A tale of the Good Old Times told by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe—A Pakeha Maori. With an introduction by the Earl of Pembroke.
- "Omoo"—Herman Melville.
- "Pacifique, l'Océan"—C. de Varigny.
- Pakeha Maori, A—"Old New Zealand". A tale of the Good Old Times told by an old chief of the Ngapuhi tribe. Introduction by the Earl of Pembroke.
- Pickering, Charles—"The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution." Scientific Records of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition.
- "Polynesiens, les, et leurs migrations"—A. de Quatrefages.
- Quatrefages, A. de,—"Les Polynesiens et leurs migrations."
- Quoy et Gaimard—"Zoologie", Scientific Record of Freycinet's Voyage Around the World.
- "Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution,"—Charles Pickering, Reports of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, 1838-42.
- "Races of Mankind, Social History of the." Second Division: Papuo and Malayo Melanesians,—A. Featherman.
- Reeves, Edward—"Brown Men and Women of the South Sea Islands."

"Sandwich and Society Islands, Travels in the,"—S. S. Hill.

"Savage Island": An account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga,—Basil Thompson.

Scientific Record of Freycinet's Voyages.

Scientific Record of Wilkes' Exploring Expedition.

"South Sea Islands, Brown Men and Women of the,"—Edward Reeves.

Thompson, Basil,—*"Savage Island; An account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga."*

Varigny, C. de,—*"L'Océan Pacifique."*

"Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, avec les portraits des sauvages d'Amerique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des îles du Grand Océan; des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d'histoire naturelle; accompagnée de descriptions par M. le Baron Cuvier, et M. A. de Chamisso, et d'observations sur les crânes humains par M. le Docteur Gall."—Par M. Louis Choris, Peintre.

Wilkes' U. S. Exploring Expedition, Scientific Record of, 1838-42.

HAWAIIAN PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES.

ALAKAI O HAWAII—Hawaiian; daily; established 1887 (?). No copies.

KE ALAULA—Hawaiian; monthly; established April, 1866. On hand—June, 1866; February, November and December, 1867; January and February, 1868; 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872 complete; duplicate odd numbers.

ALOHA AINA—Hawaiian; daily; established 1895 (?). No copies.

AMATEUR—English; established 1852. No copies.

ANASAGASHI—Japanese; weekly; established 1896 (?). No copies.

ANGELIC CHURCH CHRONICLE—English; monthly; established January, 1883. Incomplete file.

APPEAL—English; established 1892; campaign paper. On hand—February 1 and 2 only.

AU OKOA—Hawaiian; weekly; established 1864 (?). On hand—Odd numbers in 1869, 1870 and 1871.

AURORA HAWAIIANA—Portuguese; weekly; established 1888 (?). On hand—1889-1891, incomplete file.

AUSTIN'S HAWAIIAN WEEKLY—English; established 1899 (?). On hand—Incomplete file.

BENNETT'S OWN—English; weekly; established September 15, 1869; discontinued September 6, 1870. On hand—Incomplete file.

AS BOAS NOVAS—Portuguese; monthly; established 1896 (?). On hand—A few numbers.

CHINESE CHRONICLE—Chinese; weekly; established 1897 (?). No copies.

CHINESE TIMES—Chinese; weekly; established 1892 (?). No copies.

CHURCH MAGAZINE—English; monthly; established 1864. No copies.

THE CONVENTION—English; established July 14, 1864. Published during Constitutional Convention, giving debates. On hand—complete set.

THE DAILY BULLETIN—English; established February 1, 1882.

DAILY HAWAIIAN—English; established 1884. On hand—Incomplete set.

THE DAILY HAWAIIAN HERALD—English; established September 4, 1866; discontinued December 21, 1866. Missing from file, December 8, 9, 13 to 21. Some duplicates.

DAILY HERALD—English; established September 1, 1886; discontinued July 30, 1887. On hand—All but first two numbers. Succeeded August 2, 1887, by Daily Gazette.

- DIOCESAN MAGAZINE—English; quarterly; established 1891 (?). On hand—Incomplete set.
- O DIRECTO—Portuguese; weekly; established 1896 (?). No copies.
- KA ELELE HAWAII—Hawaiian; established 1844. On hand—1844-1846; March 18, 1848; March 9, 1850.
- KA ELELE E—Hawaiian; established 1855. On hand—August 22, 1855, only.
- KA ELELE POAKOLU—Hawaiian; weekly; established 1880. On hand—Occasional numbers in 1880-1886; 1887, January-April 16; 1888-1892, occasional numbers; some duplicates.
- THE FRIEND—English; monthly; established January, 1843; suspended February, 1851; re-established May, 1852. Complete set.
- GOSSIP—English; established 1902 (?). No copies.
- THE GUIDE—English; semi-weekly; established 1899. On hand—Part of 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903.
- HAE HAWAII—Hawaiian; established 1858. On hand—Volume 3, Apr. 1858--March 1859; '59-'60, occasional numbers, some duplicates.
- HAE KARITIANO—Hawaiian; semi-monthly; established January, 1860. On hand—a few numbers 1860-1862.
- HAE KATOLIKA—Hawaiian; Monthly; established 1868 (?). On hand—Six numbers in 1869.
- HANDICRAFT—English; monthly; established January, 1889--Published by Kamehameha Manual School. On hand—1892 complete; 1889-1896, occasional numbers. Some duplicates.
- HAWAII HERALD—English; weekly; established 1896, Hilo. On hand—Each year, with occasional numbers missing.
- HAWAII HOLOMUA—Hawaiian; daily and weekly. established 1891. On hand—1892-1895, many missing. Some duplicates.
- KO HAWAII PAE AINA—Hawaiian; weekly; established January 5, 1878. On hand—1878-1891. Many missing, 1884 entirely lacking.
- HAWAII SHIMBUN—Japanese; weekly; established 1893 (?). No copies.
- THE HAWAIIAN—English; monthly; established January, 1872; discontinued December, 1872. On hand—Excepting July and December.
- THE HAWAIIAN—English, monthly; established 1895. On hand—Complete set.
- THE HAWAIIAN—English; weekly; literary and agricultural; established February 12, 1898; suspended November 25, 1898. No copies.
- HAWAIIAN ANNUAL—English; established 1875. On hand—1876-1903.
- HAWAIIAN CASCADE AND MISCELLANY—English; established November 9, 1844; ceased publication September 30, 1845. On hand—Complete set and duplicates.
- HAWAIIAN CHINESE NEWS—Chinese; semi-weekly; established 1886 (?). No copies.
- HAWAIIAN COMMERCIAL JOURNAL AND MARITIME REPORT—English; weekly; established 1895. On hand—Incomplete file.
- HAWAIIAN GAZETTE—English; weekly; established January 21, 1865, as the Government Paper. On hand—1865-1869, (excepting 1867); 1886 and 1887. Duplicate Volumes, 1, 2, 4 and 5. December 25, 1888, the Gazette and Pacific Commercial Advertiser combined.
- HAWAIIAN GAZETTE—English; daily; established August 2, 1887; continued till December 25, 1888. On hand—Incomplete set.
- HAWAIIAN HOME JOURNAL—English; 1899. One number only.
- THE HAWAIIAN MONTHLY—English; established January 1884; continued to December, 1884. On hand—Complete set, some duplicates.
- HAWAIIAN SPECTATOR—English; quarterly; established January, 1838, continued to October, 1839. On hand—Complete set.
- HAWAIIAN STAR—English; daily and weekly; established March, 1893.

- HAWAIIAN TIMES—English; established September 6, 1870; ceased publication December 30, 1870. On hand—Complete set and duplicate.
- HAWAII'S YOUNG PEOPLE—English; monthly; established November 1897.
- HILO TRIBUNE—English; weekly; established 1896 in Hilo. On hand—Nearly complete file.
- HINRODE SHIMBUN—Japanese; semi-weekly; established 1895 (?). No copies.
- HOKU LOA KALAVINA—Hawaiian; established 1859. On hand—Pepa 1, 2 and 3.
- HOKU O KE KAI—Hawaiian; monthly; established 1883; edited by H. M. Kalakaua. On hand—A few numbers in 1883-1885.
- HOKU O KA PAKIPIKA—Hawaiian; established 1861 (?); edited by Kalakaua. No copies.
- HONOLULU DAILY PRESS—English; established Sept. 1, 1885. Union of "Saturday Press" and "Morning Guide." On hand—Sept. 1, '85, to Feb. 27, '86.
- HONOLULU DAILY TIMES—English; established January 25, 1890; continued to February 5; ten numbers only; reform campaign paper. On hand—Set and duplicate.
- HONOLULU HOCHI—Japanese; tri-weekly. No copies.
- HONOLULU NEWS—Japanese; semi-weekly. No copies.
- HONOLULU REPUBLICAN—English; daily; established June 14, 1900; ceased publication January 25, 1902.
- HONOLULU TIMES—English; established November 8, 1849; continued to October 30, 1850. On hand—Bound volume.
- HONOLULU TIMES—English; monthly; Oct. 1902
- HUMANE EDUCATOR—English; monthly; established April, 1900; continued to March, 1901.
- THE INDEPENDENT—English; daily; established May 1, 1895. On hand—May 1, 1895, to February 24, 1896.
- IOLANI COLLEGE MAGAZINE—English; 1900. School paper; one number only.
- THE ISLANDER—English; weekly; established March 5, 1875; ceased publication October 29, 1875. On hand—All but May 14; some duplicates.
- JAPANESE WEEKLY NEWS—Japanese; established 1892 (?). No copies.
- KE KARISTIANO—Hawaiian; semi-monthly; established January 1, 1887. On hand—January to December, 1887; some duplicates; missing, December 15.
- KIAI O KA LAHUI—Hawaiian; daily; established 1890. On hand—January 17, 1890, only.
- THE KONA ECHO—English; weekly; Established 1897 Kona, Hawaii; mimeographed. On hand—June--Dec. 1897.
- KOO O HAWAII—Hawaiian; established 1883. On hand--Vol. 1, No. 11, January 2, 1884, only; duplicates of same.
- KUMU HAWAII—Hawaiian; established November, 1834. On hand--November 12, 1834, to December 23, 1835.
- KUOKOA--Hawaiian; weekly; established October, 1861. On hand--Volumes 1, 2, 15 and 32, bound; also, unbound and incomplete, other years to 1898, with some duplicates; missing, years 1864, 1865, 1866, 1877, 1891, 1892, 1899 and succeeding years.
- KUOKOA HOME RULA (HOME RULE REPUBLICAN)—Hawaiian and English; established 1901 (?). No copies.
- KA LAHUI HAWAII—Hawaiian; weekly; established January 1, 1875. On hand--1875-1877, occasional numbers missing; some duplicates.
- KA LAMA HAWAII--Hawaiian; weekly; established February 13, 1834, at Lahainaluna. On hand--1834, and January 1, 1841.
- NA LANI EHIKU—Hawaiian; daily; established 1886 (?). No copies.

- KA LAU OLIVA—Hawaiian; monthly; established 1871 (?). On hand—March–December 1874. 1889–1896 incomplete. Some duplicates.
- KA LEO O KA LAHUI—Hawaiian; daily; established August 19, 1889. On hand—1889–1896 incomplete. Some duplicates.
- THE LIBERAL—English; established 1892. On hand—Oct. 12, '92,—Apr. 15, '93.
- THE LIBERATOR—English; weekly; established November 4, 1900, by Socialist Labor Party. On hand—November 4, 1900, only.
- A LIBERDADE—Portugese; weekly; established 1900 (?). On hand—A few numbers only.
- KA LOEA KALAIAINA—Hawaiian; daily and weekly; established 1897 (?). No copies.
- O LUSO HAWAIIANO—Portuguese; weekly; established August, 1885. On hand—Aug. '85—Dec. '86. Apr.—Dec. '98, many numbers missing.
- MAILE LEHUA—English; established 1902 (?). Kaahumanu School paper. On hand—One number only.
- MAILE QUARTERLY—English; established 1866. On hand—1866–1868.
- MAILE WREATH—English; established June, 1861, by Mission Children's Society. Manuscript only.
- KA MAKAAINANA—Hawaiian; weekly; established 1887 (?). No copies.
- KA MALAMALAMA—Hawaiian; monthly; established October 1, 1892. On hand—October and November, 1892, and duplicates.
- KA MANAWA—Hawaiian; date unknown. Edited by Kalakaua—No copies.
- THE MAUI NEWS—English; weekly; established 1900 (?). Wailuku, Maui. On hand—December 8, 1900, only.
- THE MIRROR—English; established 1902 (?). No copies.
- THE MONITOR—English; monthly; established January, 1845; continued to December, 1845. On hand—Three sets.
- THE MORNING GUIDE—English; daily; established 1884 (?). Succeeded, September 1, 1885, by Honolulu Daily Press. No copies.
- NATIONAL HERALD, OR KA AHAILONO O KA LAHUI—English and Hawaiian. Campaign paper January 9, 1890 to February 11, 1890. February 4 missing. Some duplicates.
- NEW ERA AND WEEKLY ARGUS—English; weekly; established 1853; continued to 1855. No copies.
- NONANONA—Hawaiian; established 1841; continued to 1845. On hand—Complete set.
- NUHOU, THE HAWAIIAN NEWS—English; semi-weekly; established February 25, 1873; suspended May 23; re-established July 15, 1873; ceased publication April 28, 1874. On hand—Complete set, and two duplicate numbers.
- OAHU FOUNTAIN—English; established 1847. No copies.
- OFFICIAL AND COMMERCIAL RECORD—English; semi-weekly; established March 2, 1903.
- KA OIAIO—Hawaiian; weekly; established May 24, 1889. On hand—1889–1896, very incomplete. Some duplicates.
- THE OWL—English; monthly; established January 14, 1888. On hand—Jan. '88—Aug. '89; September, 1888 missing. Some duplicates.
- THE PACIFIC COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER—English; weekly, established July, 1856. Ceased publication as a weekly December 25, 1888.
- PACIFIC COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER—English; daily, published as a daily since May, 1882.
- PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC—English; monthly; established January, 1888. On hand—1888–1891; 1892, 1894 and 1895, incomplete; 1901–'03, and some duplicates.
- PLANTERS' MONTHLY—English; established April, 1882. On hand—1882, —'92 and 1896; 1893 and 1894 missing, other years imperfect. Some duplicates.

- POLYNESIAN--English; weekly; established June 6, 1840; suspended December 4, 1841. Re-established May 18, 1844; ceased publication February, 1864. Volume VIII--May 17, '51, to May 8, '52, missing; also all after April 30, 1859. Duplicates of earlier volumes.
- PROGRESSIVE EDUCATOR--English; monthly; established November, 1894; Lahainaluna. On hand--November, 1894, to May, '99
- PUNAHOU JOURNAL--English; established 1872 (?). School paper. On hand--A few numbers in 1872 and 1873.
- PUNAHOU MIRROR--English; established April 15, 1875; continued to December 16, 1875. School paper. On hand--Complete set, and some duplicates.
- PUNAHOU REPORTER--English; established 1872 (?). School paper. No copies.
- PUNCH BOWL--English; monthly; established July, 1869, ceased publication October, 1870. On hand--August and October, 1869.
- SANDWICH ISLAND GAZETTE--English; July 30, '36--July 27, '39. On hand--Complete set and duplicate.
- SANDWICH ISLAND MAGAZINE--English; established 1856. No copies; published ten months only.
- SANDWICH ISLAND MIRROR AND COMMERCIAL GAZETTE--English; monthly; established 1839. No copies. Opposition paper to the Government aid to the Mission.
- SANDWICH ISLAND MONTHLY MAGAZINE--English; established January, 1856; continued to June, 1856. On hand--Jan.--June, '56.
- SANDWICH ISLANDS NEWS--English; weekly; established September 2, 1846; continued to 1848. On hand--September 2, 1846--August 25, 1847, November 4, 1847--October 26, 1848, and duplicates.
- SATURDAY PRESS--English; weekly; established September 4, 1880; amalgamated with "Morning Guide" to form "Honolulu Daily Press", September 1, 1885.
- SEARCHLIGHT--English; 1899. No copies.
- A SENTINELLA--Portuguese; weekly; established 1893 (?). On hand--Incomplete file.
- SHIN NIPPON--Japanese; daily; established 1897 (?). No copies.
- SIDE LIGHTS--English; monthly; established 1901 (?), in Hilo. On hand--Incomplete file.
- SPOKESMAN--English; weekly; established January 19, 1902. On hand--A few numbers only.
- STUDENT--English; monthly; established 1902 (?). School paper, (Mills' Institute for Chinese boys). On hand--Incomplete file.
- SUN CHING BOK WO--Chinese; semi-weekly; established 1901 (?). No copies.
- SUNDAY ADVERTISER--English; established January, 1903.
- SUNDAY EAGLE--English; established 1898 (?). No copies.
- SUNDAY VOLCANO--English; established February 12, 1899. On hand--Incomplete file.
- THE TIME--English; weekly; established April 27, 1895. On hand--Apr. 27--Sept. 7, '95.
- THE TOURIST--English; established March, 1903.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL HAWAIIAN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY--1850--1856. On hand--Complete set and duplicates.
- TWENTIETH CENTURY--Japanese; tri-weekly; established 1893 (?). No copies.
- A UNIAO LUSITANA-HAWAII--Portuguese; weekly; established 1891 (?). On hand--June--September, 1892; imperfect.
- VOICE OF THE NATION (KA LEO O KA LAHUI)--English; daily; established January 20, 1890. On hand--Jan. 21--Feb. 5, '90.

VOLCANO—Japanese; established 1895 (?). No copies.

WEEKLY ARGUS—English; established 1852; continued to 1853. On hand Jan. 14--July 21, 1852.

YAMOTO—Japanese; semi-weekly; established 1895 (?). No copies.

YAMOTO SHIMBUN—Japanese; established 1898 (?). No copies.

Y. M. C. A. REVIEW—English; established 1894 (?). On hand--Very imperfect file.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Capt. Nathan Appleton, Boston, Mass.

W. N. Armstrong, Honolulu.

Hon. C. R. Bishop, San Francisco.

Dr. Anton Blomberg, Stockholm, Sweden.

E. P. Bond, Mass.

Rear-Admiral Geo. Brown, U. S. N.

Henry C. Carter, New York.

Senator W. E. Chandler, Concord, N. H.

Major C. E. Dutton, U. S. A., Chicago.

Major Robert Emmett, New York.

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Comthur Milan Paul Iovanovic. Austria.

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 S. Percy Smith. Esq.. New Zealand.
 H. G. Seth-Smith, Esq., Wellington, New Zealand.
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 N. L. Tenney, Brooklyn, New York.
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 Rev. S. J. Whitmee, England.
 Hon. James Grant Wilson Washington, D. C.
 Hon. H. M. Sewall, Honolulu.
 Mons. L. Vossion, Paris.

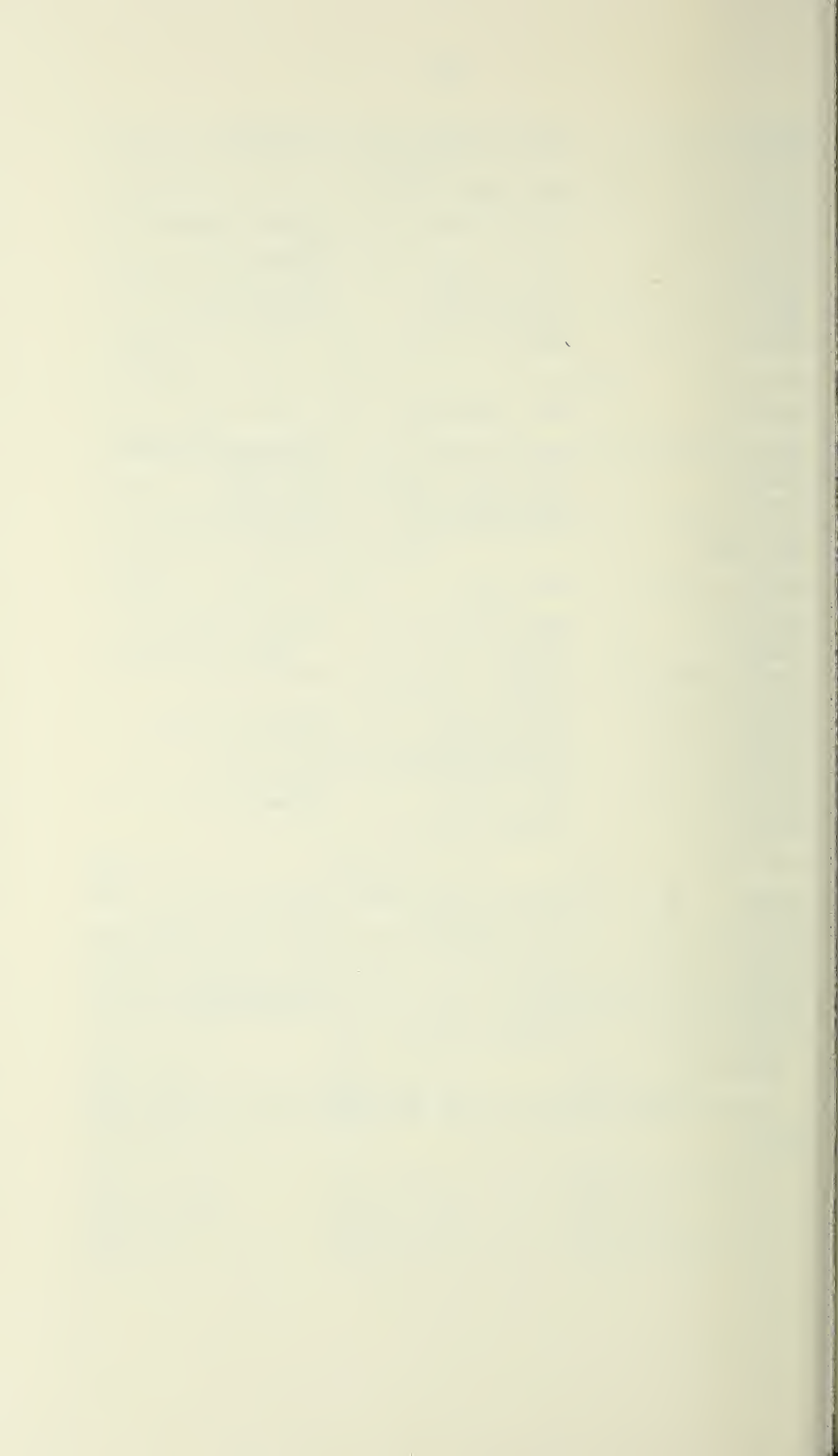
ACTIVE MEMBERS.

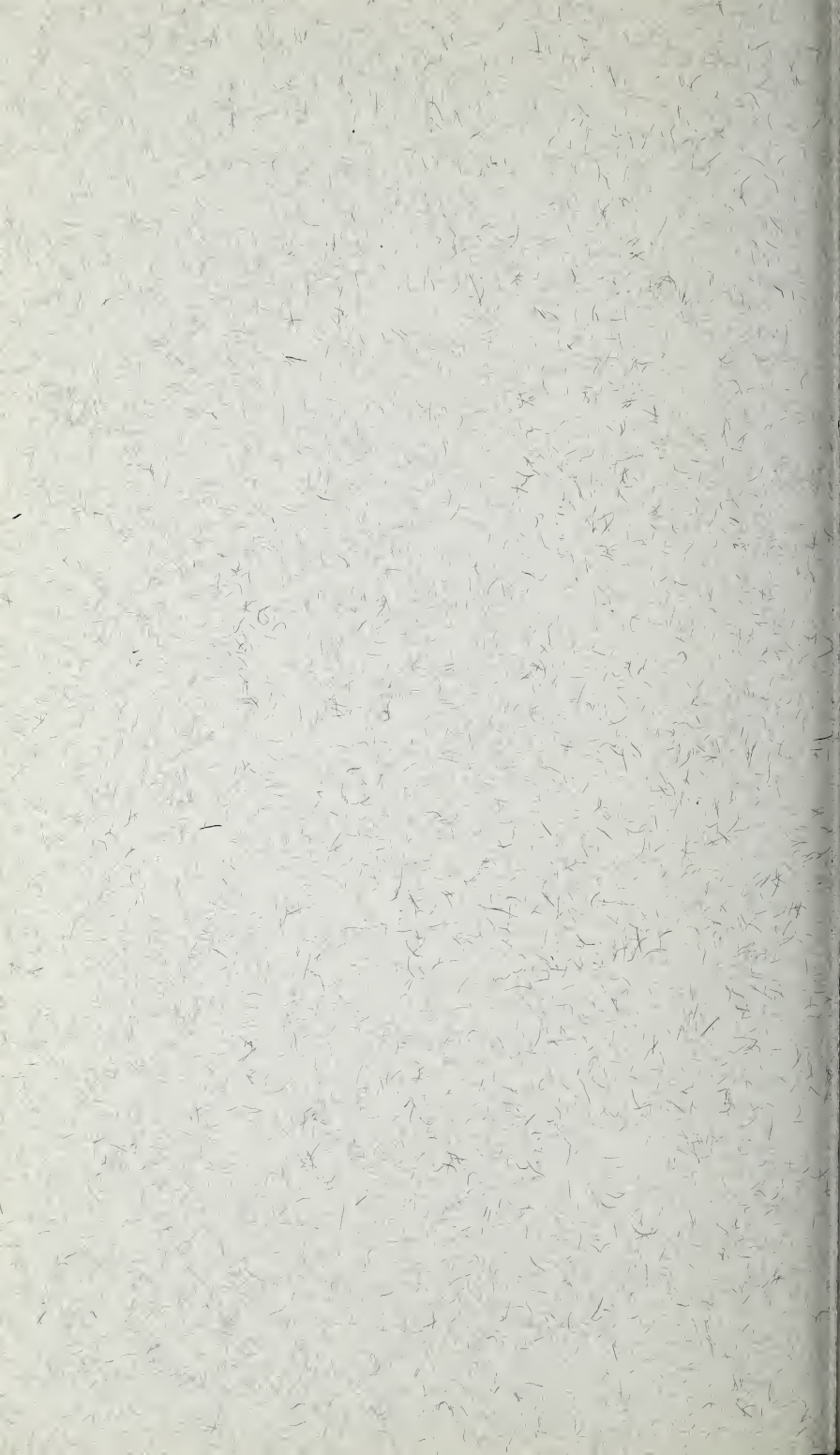
Ables, L. C.	Alexander, S. T.	Allen, S. C.
Achi, W. C.	Alexander, W. D.	Allen, W. F.
Baldwin, H. P.	Bertram, Bro. G.	Boyd, J. H.
Banning, B. R.	Bishop, Rev. S. E.	Brown, Cecil
Beckwith, Rev. E. G.	Bolte, C.	Brown, C. A.
Beckwith, Miss Martha	Bowen, W. A.	Bryan, Wm. A.
Carter, A. W.	Castle, G. P.	Cooke, A. F.
Carter, G. R.	Castle, J. B.	Cooke, C. M.
Carter, Mrs. H. A. P.	Castle, W. R.	Cooke, Jos. P.
Carter, J. O.	Catton, R.	Cunha, E. S.
Cartwright, Bruce		
Damon, F. W.	Desha, G. L.	*Dimond, W. W.
Damon, S. M.	Dickey, C. H.	Dole, E. P.
Day, Dr. F. R.	Dickey, L. A.	Dole, Hon. S. B.
Dayton, D.	Dillingham, B. F.	Dowsett, J. M.

Emerson, J. S.	Emerson, Dr. N. B.	Emmeluth, J.
Emerson, Mrs. J. S.	Emerson, Rev. O. P.	
Fisher, J. H.	Frear, Hon. W. F.	
Giffard, W. M.	Goodale, W. W.	Graham, W. M.
Haalelea, Mrs. A. A.	Hatch, F. M.	Ho Fon
Hackfeld, J. F.	Henriques, E.	Humphreys, A. S.
Hall, W. W.	Herrick, C. F.	Hustace, C.
Hartwell, A. S.	Hobron, T. W.	
Irwin, W. G.		
Jones, P. C.	Judd, Albert F.	
Lewers, Robert	Lyons, C. J.	Mackintosh, Rev. A.
Logan, D.	McClanahan, E. B.	Magoon, J. A.
Lowrey, F. J.	McGonagle, Chas.	May, Thos.
Lucas, George	McIntyre, H. E.	Mott-Smith, E. A.
Lyle, James		
Nakuina, M. K.	Nolte, H. J.	
Parke, W. C.	Potter, Geo. C.	*Ropert, Rev. F. G., Bishop of Panopolis
Peacock, W. C.	Rhodes, C. L.	Rowell, W. E.
Pearson, Arthur W.	Robinson, M. P.	
Pond, Percy M.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.	Timmons, L. D.
Schaefer, F. A.	Smith, Henry	Towse, Ed.
Schmidt, H. W.	Smith, Walter G.	Thrum, T. G.
Searle, J. C.	Smith, W. O.	Thurston, L. A.
Sedgwick, T. F.	Stokes, John	
Smith, G. W.	Swanzy, F. M.	
von Holt, H.		
Walker, T. R.	Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wilson, W. F.
Wall, W. E.	Wichman, H. F.	Wodehouse, E. H.
Waterhouse, H.	Wilcox, A. S.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
Weaver, P. L.	Wilcox, C.	Wood, Edgar
Westervelt, Rev. W. D.	Wilcox, G. N.	Wundenberg, F.
Whiting, W. A.	Williams, H. H.	

*Deceased.

The names of members deceased are omitted from the list after one year.





**ELEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT**

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31ST, 1903.



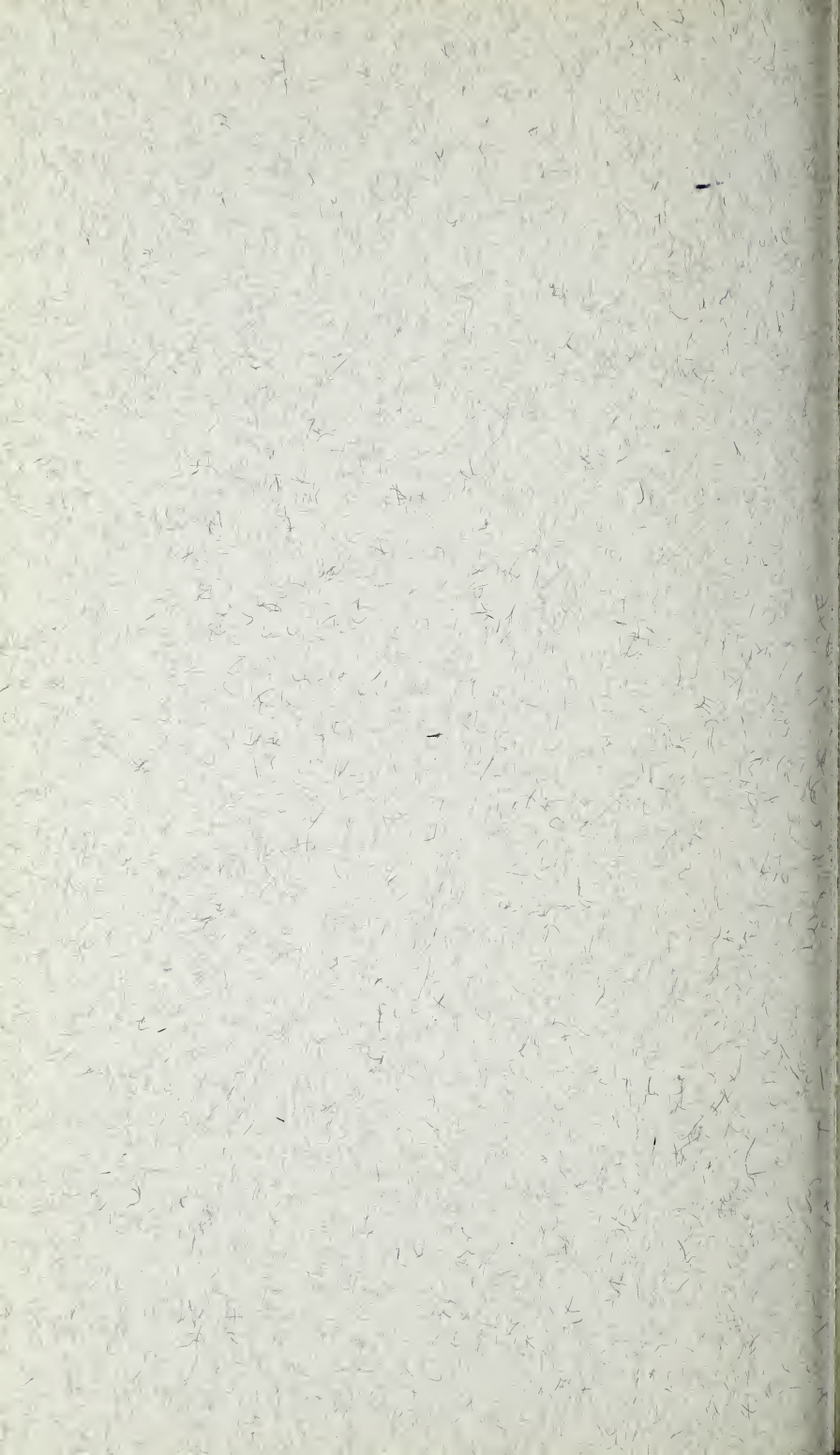
WITH A LETTER BY H. S. TOWNSEND,
ON CERTAIN COINCIDENCES BETWEEN
THE POLYNESIAN AND PHILIPPINE LAN-
GUAGES, AND AN ESSAY BY DR. N. B.
EMERSON ON THE POETRY OF HAWAII.

**HONOLULU, H. T.
1904.**

KRAUS REPRINT CO.

Millwood, N.Y.

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OFFICERS, 1904.

PRESIDENT.....	DR. N. B. EMERSON
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.....	HON. S. B. DOLE
SECOND " "	MR. J. S. EMERSON
THIRD " "	MR. W. F. ALLEN
RECORDING SECRETARY.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....	PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER
TREASURER.....	MR. W. W. HALL
LIBRARIAN.....	MISS HELEN S. HILLEBRAND

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Printed in U.S.A.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD MARCH 3, 1904.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at its Library room at 8 p. m. March 3, 1904, the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, being in the chair. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The minutes of the meeting of September 15, 1903, not being at hand, it was voted that the board of managers should decide whether to print them in the annual report or not.

Reports for the year 1903 were read by the Treasurer and Librarian, Miss H. Hillebrand, and by the Corresponding Secretary, Prof. W. D. Alexander. These were all accepted and ordered printed in the annual report.

The President stated that the committee on sites of historical events had no formal report to present, but that it was making progress. The following persons were elected officers for the coming year:

DR. N. B. EMERSON.....	President
HON. S. B. DOLE.....	First Vice-President
MR. J. S. EMERSON.....	Second Vice-President
MR. W. F. ALLEN.....	Third Vice-President
PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER..	Correspond'g Secretary
HON. W. F. FREAR.....	Recording Secretary
MR. W. W. HALL.....	Treasurer
MISS H. HILLEBRAND.....	Librarian

The following persons were elected members of the Society on the recommendation of the board of managers:

Mr. Raymond H. Arnot, corresponding member, and Bishop Henry B. Restarick, Benjamin L. Marx and Miss H. Hillebrand, active members, the dues of the last named, who is the Librarian, being remitted.

Hon. S. B. Dole gave notice that at the next meeting he would move to amend the constitution of the Society so as to reduce the initiation fee from five to two dollars.

The third by-law of the Society was amended so as to read as follows:

"Papers read before this Society shall remain the property of the persons who present them. They shall not be published by the Society or placed upon its files without the written consent of such persons."

The matter of publishing a second annual report, which was omitted at the time, was referred to the Librarian, to ascertain and report what there was to publish.

Prof. W. D. Alexander read a letter from Prof. H. S. Townsend, from the island of Samar, on certain coincidences between the Polynesian and Philippine languages, decimal systems and trees.

The President then read the paper of the evening on the "Ancient Poetry of Hawaii." This was requested for publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

From January 1st, 1903, to January 1st, 1904, inclusive.

RECEIPTS.

Jan. 1.—Cash on hand.....	\$.36	
Interest on McBryde bonds.....	180.00	
Collection of members' dues.....	179.00	
Drawn from Bishop & Co.'s Savings Bank.....	15.00	
Total receipts for the year.....		\$374.36

EXPENDITURES.

Janitor's salary for 12 months.....	\$ 18.00	
Janitor, for poisoning shelves.....	30.00	
Paid commissions on collection members' dues.....	17.20	
Thrum's Annual, 1902-1903.....	1.50	
Three months' Friends for binding.....	.45	
Receipt books.....	3.65	
200 wrappers.....	.70	
Hawaiian Gazette Co. for binding.....	19.80	
Hawaiian Gazette Co. for printing 10th Annual Reports.....	71.50	
Stamps.....	3.65	
Poison for shelves.....	1.50	
Advertising.....	3.75	
Librarian's salary for the year.....	100.00	
Deposited in Bishop & Co.'s Savings Bank....	100.00	
Total expenditures for the year.....		\$371.70
Cash on hand.....		2.66
		<u>\$374.36</u>

HELEN S. HILLEBRAND, TREAS. H. H. S.,

In Account with Bishop & Co.'s Savings Bank.

Jan. 1, 1903.—Amount on deposit.....	\$293.45
Deposited during the year.....	100.00
Interest.....	14.25
	<hr/>
	\$407.70
Withdrawn.....	15.00
	<hr/>
Dec. 31, 1903.—Total amount in bank.....	\$392.70

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society :

There is very little of interest to report since the last Annual Meeting of this Society.

No really new books have been added to the Library. The following, from among those presented by the Government Library, have been accessioned and catalogued :

Martyn Thomas. Universal Conchologist.

Martyn Thomas. Figures of Nondescript Shells from the South Seas.

Golovnin, Capt. Voyage in H. I. M. Exploring Ship Kam-schatka. (In Russian.)

Seemann, Berthold. Flora Vitiensis ; a Description of Plants of Viti or Fiji.

Also a bound volume of the Friend and one of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society have been added.

A complete set of the Oahuan was presented to the Society, and three bound volumes of the Hawaiian Star for 1893, covering the period of the Hawaiian Revolution, from Mrs. S. N. Castle.

A number of loose pamphlets have been sorted and indexed.

Much of the time given to work in the Library of the Society was spent putting the room in order. The repairs to the main Library last summer caused great confusion in both places.

There is not adequate room for properly placing all the books and other material of the Library.

The books should be classified and more fully indexed, which would require much more time than your Librarian is able to give.

Respectfully submitted,

HELEN S. HILLEBRAND,

Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1903.

During the past year one meeting of this Society was held, on September 15th, 1903, at which an interesting paper was presented by Mr. Ed. Towse on "Hawaiians Abroad," as well as one on "Early Trading in Hawaii" by myself. It is to be regretted that the publication of these papers has been delayed so long. I understand that Mr. Towse has prepared another paper on "Ocean Voyages," which we may expect to have the pleasure of listening to at a future meeting.

Dr. N. B. Emerson's translation of David Malo's Hawaiian Archaeology, published at the expense of the Trustees of the Bernice Pauahi Museum, was issued from the press during the closing days of December, 1903. Containing, as it does, the personal recollections of one who was born and grew up to manhood under the ancient tabu system, and who was considered by his countrymen to be an authority on the subjects treated of, it forms a valuable contribution to Polynesian ethnology. In fact, while it was still in manuscript, it had been drawn upon by more than one writer on these subjects, among whom may be mentioned Dr. Bastian, of Berlin. Mr. S. Percy Smith, the highest living authority in this department, writes of it as follows: "I consider it a very important addition to Polynesian ethnology, and especially interesting and valuable are Dr. Emerson's notes. It seems to me to prove that the Hawaiians had reached a somewhat higher stage of culture than the Maoris in some things, although their art is behind that of the latter people." It is to be hoped that its publication may be followed by that of a translation of S. M. Kamakau's *Life of Kamehameha I*, which was published in the "Kuokoa" in 1867-8. The reading of Dr. Emerson's paper this evening will increase our desire to see his promised work on the "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii" in print.

The committee appointed at our last annual meeting on identifying the sites of important historical events, is understood to have made considerable progress during the past year. The opening of the Hawaiian Hall in the Bishop Museum on the 24th of last November was a noteworthy event, and one which properly interests our Society, since it will promote the very objects for which it was founded. It may well be questioned whether there can be found anywhere in the world a more complete exhibit of the life of an isolated race, as it existed before coming into contact with foreign civilization.

Mr. S. Percy Smith, founder of the Polynesian Society, has just published a work entitled "Hawaiki," on the origin and migrations of the various branches of the Polynesian race, which embodies the latest results of his study of the materials which he has collected in the Southern groups, especially in Rarotonga. This is not the place for a review of the book, but it is not too much to say that it throws more light on the subject than anything else that has appeared since the publication of the late Judge Fornander's work on "The Polynesian Race."

Mr. H. S. Townsend, well known here as an educator, who has been for some years a Division Superintendent of Schools in the Philippine Islands, has sent us an interesting letter on the resemblances between the Polynesian language and the various Malay dialects spoken in his province, as well as on the plants common to Hawaii and Luzon.

Mr. W. E. Safford, a highly esteemed corresponding member of our Society, has written an exhaustive account of the island of Guam, its people and its history, which has just been published by the Smithsonian Institute.

I will conclude by calling attention to the need of a new, up-to-date Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands.

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

A LETTER FROM PROF. TOWNSEND.

Catbalogan, Samar, P. I.,

Jan. 1, 1904.

Prof. W. D. Alexander,

Honolulu, Hawaii—

DEAR SIR:

I have long had it in mind to write you concerning some interesting coincidences between the Polynesians and the Malaysians of the Philippines. The Polynesian language does not seem to me to show any relationship to any language of which I have learned here, yet it has a few words in common with a few or many of our Philippine languages. The Hawaiian *niu* (cocoanut), for instance, appears here as *niug*, though its use is not very common. And here it is an interesting fact that in some of these languages the o and u sounds seem always to be followed by a smothered hard g sound, sometimes represented by the written g, and sometimes not. Thus the name of our best-known Philippine people appears in print either as Togalo or Togalog, though the final sound is neither nothing nor g. Hawaiian *manu* (bird) appears in various Malayan languages, as manuk, manok, manukmanuk, manokmanok, mano and plain manu, meaning always chicken or bird. The Hawaiian word *i'a* (fish) appears universally here as isda, without change of meaning. The word *kamani* (name of a kind of tree) appears here as camunig, the name of a different kind of tree, having wood so much like that of our Hawaiian kamani that it would require an expert to distinguish between the two. Yet the kamani is here with an entirely different name. The number of these verbal coincidences, however, is small.

On the other hand, the Hawaiian decimal system of numbers is here almost identical as far as ten, and very similar above that number. Twenty is plainly "two tens," and thirty "three tens," just as "sang pulo" (original of Hawaiian anahulu) seems to have been "one ten," and as Samar "sa pulo" is plainly "one ten"

today. Did not the Polynesians borrow this decimal system from the Malaysians and stick it on to their language? It seems to me that its scrappy, incomplete character in Hawaiian may indicate its foreign origin.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Hindus became the predominating influence among the leading Malayan peoples in Java, and to some extent in Sumatra and on the peninsula, about the beginning of the Christian era. Is it not possible that they introduced the decimal system here, just as they indirectly gave us our decimal system of notation? This would be an interesting question for investigation, but it is too hard for me. Nearly all these tribes have known something of writing for an indefinite time, and if the Hindus introduced to the central peoples such a boon as the decimal system of numbers and of notation, it would be easy to account for its knowledge spreading far more rapidly than did the knowledge of the people who introduced it. The lack of writing would account for the relatively small hold it took upon the Polynesians.

There is another interesting coincidence in connection with the plants which the Polynesians introduced into Hawaii and there cultivated. I find here bananas, cocoanuts, taro, ape, sweet potatoes like those of Hawaii, pia, olona and mamaki, and plants closely related to the awa, ohia-ai and the wiliwili, besides the kamani, mentioned in another connection. And my investigations have amounted to nothing more than casual observations as I go about my business. Yet is not this pretty nearly a complete list of the plants which the Hawaiians brought with them and cultivated in their new home?

(Signed)

HENRY S. TOWNSEND.

THE POETRY OF HAWAII.**

(Presented and read by Dr. N. B. Emerson before the Hawaiian Historical Association, at its Annual Meeting, in Honolulu, March 4th, 1904.)

To come near to the life of a people, to touch the ebb and flow of its human tides, we must consider the intangible utterances in which that people voiced its thoughts, its emotions, its aspirations.

As with all primitive peoples, so with the Hawaiians, their efforts at literary expression for the most part took the poetic form.

It would be impossible to designate the place which Hawaiian poetry occupies in the world's literature without first having an understanding as to what is poetry. Definitions of poetry have often suffered from being too narrow, from being based too much on the form and too little on the spirit. To attempt the impossible, we may define poetry as that species of emotional composition which finds expression in rhythmical form and in language warmed and lighted by the imagination.

In searching for a standard of comparison, with which to measure the poesy of Hawaii, it is evidently unfair to judge it by the literary canons of the most enlightened and cultivated nations. Its true measure must be found, if at all, in the compositions of some people of like development with itself. The brilliant examples set by Greece and Rome have been powerful factors in giving shape, and character, and definition to the poesy of our times. Have they not, however, implanted in the minds of classical scholars a prejudice in favor of such a definition of poetry as conforms with the examples and rules furnished by those gifted nations?

**This paper, as stated by Dr. Emerson at the meeting of the Historical Association, was originally intended to be used as an introduction to his work on the Poetry and Songs of the Ancient Hawaiians, which is entitled "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii," and which, it is hoped, will some day see the light.

The study of Hawaiian poetry is surrounded with much difficulty, even when pursued by one who has an extensive knowledge of the Hawaiian language. Even under the lead of a competent guide, the task of digging out the meaning of an old Hawaiian *mele* is no light undertaking. In the first place, to catch this literary guide, this *kaka-olelo*, and then to yoke him in to the required task, is an effort that requires all the wisdom and diplomacy at one's command. Such people in these days are both scarce and unwilling. The *kahu* of a king's bones is hardly more secretive of his charge than some of these poetical *kahus* of the literary treasures long since entrusted to their keeping. In the times that are dead and gone it was the *po'e alii*, the chiefs, or those who had been their intimates, that were the best instructors in all matters literary. Theirs was the knowledge at first hand, the best powers of language and of interpretation, the "grand style" of the old Hawaiian poetry.

The causes which make it difficult for us to understand the poetry of the Hawaiians are to be found both in the genius of the Polynesian language and in the stage of intellectual development at which the Polynesian had arrived. The study of a language cannot be separated from the study of the mind and genius of the people for whom it is the organ of expression.

The phonic elements of the Hawaiian language are few in number and elementary in character; yet they show the marks of great age, and the attenuation of long use. It is as if one should find the toys and playthings of children, with but slight modifications, doing duty in the hands of mature men as the instruments for accomplishing the serious tasks of life. Thus we find the sounds in the Hawaiian language capable of representation by an alphabet of but five vowels and eight consonants. (I say eight consonants, instead of seven, for I strongly feel that the sound *Vay* and *Way*, which now are represented by the one symbol *Way*, —W—should each have its own symbol.) In the Hawaiian language every syllable ends in a vowel, and no two consonants are uttered without the interposition of a vowel sound. A slight calculation based on these data shows us that the Hawaiian speech does not contain more than seventy-six syllables.

The Hawaiian language is poor in words for the expression of generalized notions and abstract ideas. It has specific words for the different colors, for black, white, red, yellow, etc., but none for color. It has no word equivalent to our word weather. The concept is in the mind of the people, in the language, but in an inchoate form, as in an unripe fruit, the flavor of the juice is perceptible, but it will not yet flow; it has not attained the ripeness and maturity that enables it to gush forth as does the clear liquor of the orange or the coco-nut.

To take another step, if we classify words, and more properly nouns, according to the three different stages of evolution through which they pass, first as the reflex expression of emotions, second as images, mental pictures, and third as the mere signs of ideas, we shall find that few nouns of the Hawaiian language have gone beyond the second stage, i. e., the word calls up a living picture in the mind.

The results that flowed from this condition were many and far-reaching, affecting not only the poetry, but the prose speech of daily life; so that it is often hard to draw the line and say where prose ends and poetry begins. From this, it follows, as might be expected, that Hawaiian poetry is highly figurative. The very fact of its poverty in abstract terms compels a resort to the language of the senses, with the result that the stronger figures of speech, metaphor, hyperbole, and personification, are the ones most often used. It is not abstract beauty that is sung, but the thing beautiful.

We find a language full of pictures, a graphic speech, in which things visible and ponderable are brought directly before us for sight and touch. Does a lover wish to celebrate the charms of his mistress, he goes straight to nature and ascribes to the dear one of his heart all the perfections he finds in wildwood, lake and mountain—hers the blush of morning, the warmth of noonday, the perfume of sweet vine and flower, the gentle voice of the breeze; or rather the very things themselves are hyperbolized as the parts of her being.

The disposition of the primitive mind towards poetry was such as to bring her down from her dwelling place on the heights and to make of her a familiar handmaid, one to dip finger in the

same dish, to trudge at one's side over life's plane. The disposition of the modern is to keep this rare spirit of poesy apart from the sweat and toil of the field, to adore her as a song-bird in the air, an inspiring voice in the heavens; at most, to domesticate her as a mistress, whose favors are to be wooed as the crown of one's holiday enjoyments.

Hawaiian poetry is largely in an archaic dialect, differing even from the historic speech used during the last century or two. It uses many idioms and words that are lost and unfamiliar to the modern Hawaiian.

It is a dialect marked by laconic directness and wonderful power. In this old poetry we see the language in its naked strength, before affectation and decay have loaded it with gewgaws, jingling appurtenances, that are neither useful nor ornamental.

The Hawaiians have at all times had very loose notions regarding the structure of the sentence and the logical connection of its parts. Not only does their language lack the verb to be, but it is not an unusual thing for either subject or predicate to be entirely omitted, so that one is at a loss to decide what are the metes and bounds of the sentence, and whether a phrase standing between two sentences is intended to qualify the one or the other. The results of this lack of structure in the sentence are more bewildering in prose than in poetry.

The childlike character of the language has another influence on the poetry; it gives to its utterances a double meaning. This is a feature that causes no little embarrassment, by making it doubtful whether the primary and obvious meaning is the one intended, or some deeper hidden casket of thought is hinted at.

One strong and admirable feature of Hawaiian poetry is its direct attack. The poet wastes no time in beating about the bush, but strikes at once into the heart of his subject.

The *mele*, which is the generic designation of all varieties of Hawaiian poetry, was primarily lyric, intended for cantillation, often with instrumental accompaniment to punctuate the time. This fact alone would make it probable that all Hawaiian poetry was constructed on rhythmical principles. It is not always easy to recognize the rhythm of Hawaiian poetry by the mere study

of its written form. When recited, that is, cantillated, the mele throbs with a tremulous rhythm of its own, but when reduced to writing, the same words unskilfully uttered seem to have lost the spirit of song, and to have staled like champagne poured over night.

For a long time this seeming anomaly was to me an unsolved problem. The explanation perhaps may be found in the fact that the written words, representing the intellectual and bare vocal structure, do not fill to the brim the rhythmical quality of the piece. On hearing the *kumu-hula*, the hula-master, cantillate a mele, it becomes evident that by an indefinable tone or accent, by a manipulation of his voice, he constantly introduces unwritten elements, garlands the verbal framework of the composition with certain slurring tones, grace-notes, which serve to complete the rhythm. It is as when the mason fills in with rubble and small stones the spaces that remain when the large blocks have been placed in position, or as when the decorator twines about the rough frame the wreaths and wildwood filagree that serve to complete the design and make the structure an artistic appeal to the emotions.

The genius of the Polynesian language, and especially its Hawaiian branch, is highly favorable to this end within its own range, for it has a most delicate feeling for accent and for sound values, especially for vowel-values.

On the question of the meter of Hawaiian poetry it is difficult to speak in other than negative terms. The orderly sequence of measured feet, iambus, trochee, dactyl, anapaest and the like, is not recognizable in their written compositions and may be denied provisionally. As to meter as the measure of the verse, little more can be said than that some verses are long, or very long, and others short, or very short, and the rule or principle in accordance with which the verse is regulated is not apparent, unless indeed it may be said that the limit was imposed by the carrying power of a lungful of human breath.

Terminal rhyme was not a device employed in Hawaiian poetry, and for good reason. In a language like the Hawaiian, with its ever recurring syllable endings in a, e, i, o and u, it

would have been a carrying of coals to Newcastle to have set forth such commonplace wares. But there were other tone-color devices of which they availed themselves.

Alliteration was sparingly employed in Hawaiian poetry. When we consider that the consonant sounds of the language were but eight in number, the wonder is that with the temptation of such a great opportunity at hand, alliteration was not run to death. The economy and good taste with which this device of tone-color was used gives one no small degree of respect for the good sense of the Hawaiian bard. As an example of its use, may be quoted the first line of the poem made famous for being associated in an interesting manner with the name of Lono-i-kamakahiki:

O ke alialia li'u-la o Maŋa.
(The sea-sands, sun-drenched with mirage at Mana.)

A common device was to repeat a word or part of a word that had occurred in a previous verse—a carrying over, as it were, of the poetical leaven from one verse to another. The object seems to have been to produce a pleasant surprise by reintroducing a word with a change of meaning. The repeated word is sometimes doubled in form, thus enhancing the effect. As an instance of this duplicated repetition, note the following:

O ko'u puni no ia o ka ike *maka*.
Aohe *makamaka* o ka hale, ua hele oe.
(I long to look eye to eye;
Friendless the house, you away.)

This device seems to have been more common in the middle and later periods than in the archaic period of Hawaiian poetry. Is this an indication of the overripeness that presages decay?

In some of the meles there is a marked tendency to break up the composition into short parts, distichs, triplets, quatrains, and the like, each part at times forming a whole by itself. The result is a disjointing of the meaning, a loosening of the logical relation of one part with another. No doubt the manner of their composition, and the fact that the authorship of many of the

poems was shared by several bards working in conjunction, had its influence in preventing unity of conception and breaking the flow of thought, thus giving to the composition rather the character of a mosaic or string of beads than of a form cast in one mould or forged at one heat.

There were many varieties of mele. The mele *inoa* was a poem of eulogy, the ancestral song of the alii—the heaven-born one—often tracing back his genealogy and boldly ascribing it to the gods. It was at best a noble conception of man's divine paternity, its fault being that it was of limited application. When two alii of the highest rank had been paired—a temporary alliance for state purposes—and it had become evident that the union would be fruitful, the *po'e haku mele*, poets, bards and singers were assembled and set to the task of composing a poem of eulogy—mele *inoa*—in honor of the chief to be born. Each verse and phrase was matter for the most careful deliberation. To have allowed any word or expression that was capable of sinister interpretation to remain and reach the point of public recitation would have been a criminal negligence, not only calamitous to the person eulogized, but by a just retribution liable to be visited with death on the head of him who uttered it, as well as upon those who allowed it to pass uncorrected. A word of ill-omen passing from the mouth could not be recalled; like an arrow shot from the bow, it was gone forever, the result irrevocable.

Not until the finished work had been stamped with the approval of the highest critical authority was it given out to be stereotyped in the memory of the men and women of the hula, that it might be cantillated by them until such time as the royal birth was accomplished. The *inoa* then became the copyright property, so to speak, of the chief it eulogized. Strictly it was not transferable; it was like a poem by the laureate, sacred to the memory of the one eulogized. There are instances in which the *inoa* of the dead king or queen has been appropriated by a successor as though it had been a crown-jewel, an heirloom; but it was a breach of propriety, not in accord with the spirit of ancient Hawaiian institutions.

When the body of a chief in the days of Hawaiian royalty was borne to its last resting place, it was his *mele inoa* that was recited as the cortege passed along, an incense more pleasing than the roar of foreign cannon or the wail of foreign music.

The *kumu-lipo* was a song of creation. It belonged strictly and of exclusive right to the archaic period; but it would seem as if some of the compositions thus styled were in part of modern fabrication, gotten up in imitation of the antique. It is customary to speak of the *kumulipo*, as well as of some other old-time *meles*, as dating back to the *wa po*, that period of historic night whose border was but slightly illumined by the will-o'-wisp lights of myth. The fact that the ancient Hawaiians were without letters, so that memory was the only tablet used in preserving a knowledge of their poetry, traditions, myths and other literary material, made it the more easy for an impostor to palm off later productions as genuine antiques.

The rhetorical style of the *kumu lipo* is highly figurative; the parts of the sentence often poorly defined or even wanting, held together by the loosest grammatical construction. There is a sense of mystery and world-remoteness belonging to this order of composition which is highly seductive to the imagination, and it would seem as if the desire to appeal to this powerful sentiment had been the motive for the counterfeit of the genuine article.

The *pule*, prayer, took generally the poetical form. The prayers of the primitive ones are to be understood only by viewing things from their standpoint. Being altogether a religious people, and not yet having risen above the conception that the universe is ruled by many deities, it followed that religion was compartmented; so that it can almost be said there was a department for war, for the piping times of peace, for pestilence, for the health of the king, for drought, for the change from one season to another, for birth, for death, for land, for sea, for wind and storm, for earthquakes, for the canoe-maker, for the bird-catcher and for the hula. This last was a happy cult, in which there were no groaning victims, no human sacrifices, in which fear and the sense of impending doom gave way to joy and light-heartedness; yet

shackled with the bonds of tabu, hedged in with the conventional constraints of tradition.

The *pule* was something more than an appeal for good luck, for blessings on the work in hand, and ranked higher than the petition put up by the old farmer who prayed, "Oh God, bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more." It had in it the genuine spirit of worship and supplication; it was illumined with the flame of sacrifice and propitiation; it kept alive the sense of dependence on a higher power. However little it may interest us in and of itself, it cannot fail to command the respect of every earnest and tolerant mind. The *Kanaenae* was the adulatory part of the *pule*. It is often spoken of as an offering, a sacrifice of words, the voice and nothing more—*vox et praeterea nihil*. I cannot but think it to have been something more than a mere lip-service.

The *kanikau*, elegy, or threnody, is a form of mele that has specially flourished in the reaction of civilization upon this primitive race.

The *mele kaula* was the war-song. It was recited as the challenge to personal combat, chanted by the high-priest as an inspiration to battle, or used to celebrate the warlike deeds of heroes.

The *oli* (olioli, to rejoice) corresponds most strictly to our lyric, and was eminently the song of joy, affection, sentiment. The art of improvisation was a possession native to the Hawaiians, and was one of the recognized means of social entertainment, its ordinary form of manifestation being the *oli*. The traveller, as he rested by the wayside, or as he trudged along under his swaying burden, would solace himself with a pensive improvisation. The people of the olden time, sitting about the camp-fire of an evening, without the consolation of the social pipe or bowl, would keep warm the fire of fellowship and good cheer by the sing-song chanting of the *oli*, in which the extemporaneous bard recounted the incidents of the day, and won the laughter and applause of his audience by his witty exaggerations of every humorous or ludicrous incident that had marked the journey. The *oli* was used in connection with the hula to fill a somewhat less formal role than the *mele* proper.

Mele ipo, or *ipoipo*, or *hoipoipo*. *Ipo*, or its double form and other derivatives, is the word that stands alike for lover and sweetheart, love-making and the song which celebrates that spark that "makes brutes men, and men divine." Love, the love of man for woman, of woman for man—this is the point at which we touch human nature at the quick. It has come to be the fashion with some moralists to speak of the Polynesian as if he were in this regard to be set in a class by himself, to be looked upon as a sinner above all the world. But may it not be said with truth, that a people who have learned to sing and warble of their loves with the birds of the forest, calling upon all the beautiful objects of nature to attest the quality of their passion—can it not be said of such a people that they have climbed higher than the first round in the scale of ideality?

The great majority of Hawaiian poems are of such a character as justify their being classed as lyrics, even though by the Hawaiians they are denominated *pule*, prayers. Others from their subject and style of treatment invite classification as epics; there are still others that set at defiance all attempts at classification, though from their character one is tempted to borrow from art the term *genre* as suggestive of their species. In some of the *meles* I have collected, as in that one the first line of which is "Ua ona o Kane i ke awa" ("Kane is drunken with awa"), one is reminded in a far-off way of the audacities of Aristophanes. But of most of the songs it may be said that love, now decorous, now wanton, sometimes outspoken, often concealed from the object of affection, or hidden in a tangle of metaphor; jealousy and intrigue; idyllic peace and content; domestic felicity, or heart-ache; the mere joy of existence; delight in the fresh beauty of the physical world—these form the main recurring themes of which the bards of Hawaii ever delighted to treat. There is, of course, a sprinkling of that class of poets and poetasters who delight in ribald jests and buffoonery; but this class forms only a small, though by no means unimportant, part of the whole, and serves the useful function of reminding us that human nature rejoices in the same vagaries of fancy in all ages, and that "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."

Some of the mele deal almost wholly with mythological subjects, the migrations, the pleasurings, the strifes, bickerings and contentions of the gods.

The hula meant very much to the Hawaiian. It included in itself so large a part of what was to him the best of life's dole; it was such a unique and significant attempt on his part to realize his dreams and aspirations, that one cannot wonder that it came to include in itself much of the best and choicest thought and uttered emotion of the Hawaiian people. It stood to them in place of lecture hall, theatre, opera, library.

One turns from the study of the old genealogies, myths, traditions and legends of the Hawaiians with a hungry despair at finding so little in them, such small means of reproducing and picturing the people themselves, their human interests, their passions, fears, loves, and hates.

But when it comes to the hula, and the whole train of feelings and sentiments that had their entrances and exits in the *halau*, one finds that here is an open book, quick with the warm blood of the people.

N. B. EMERSON.

(The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to a paper by that eminent scholar, Lorrin Andrews, which appeared in "The Islander" of April 23, 1875, and was entitled "Remarks on Hawaiian Poetry.")

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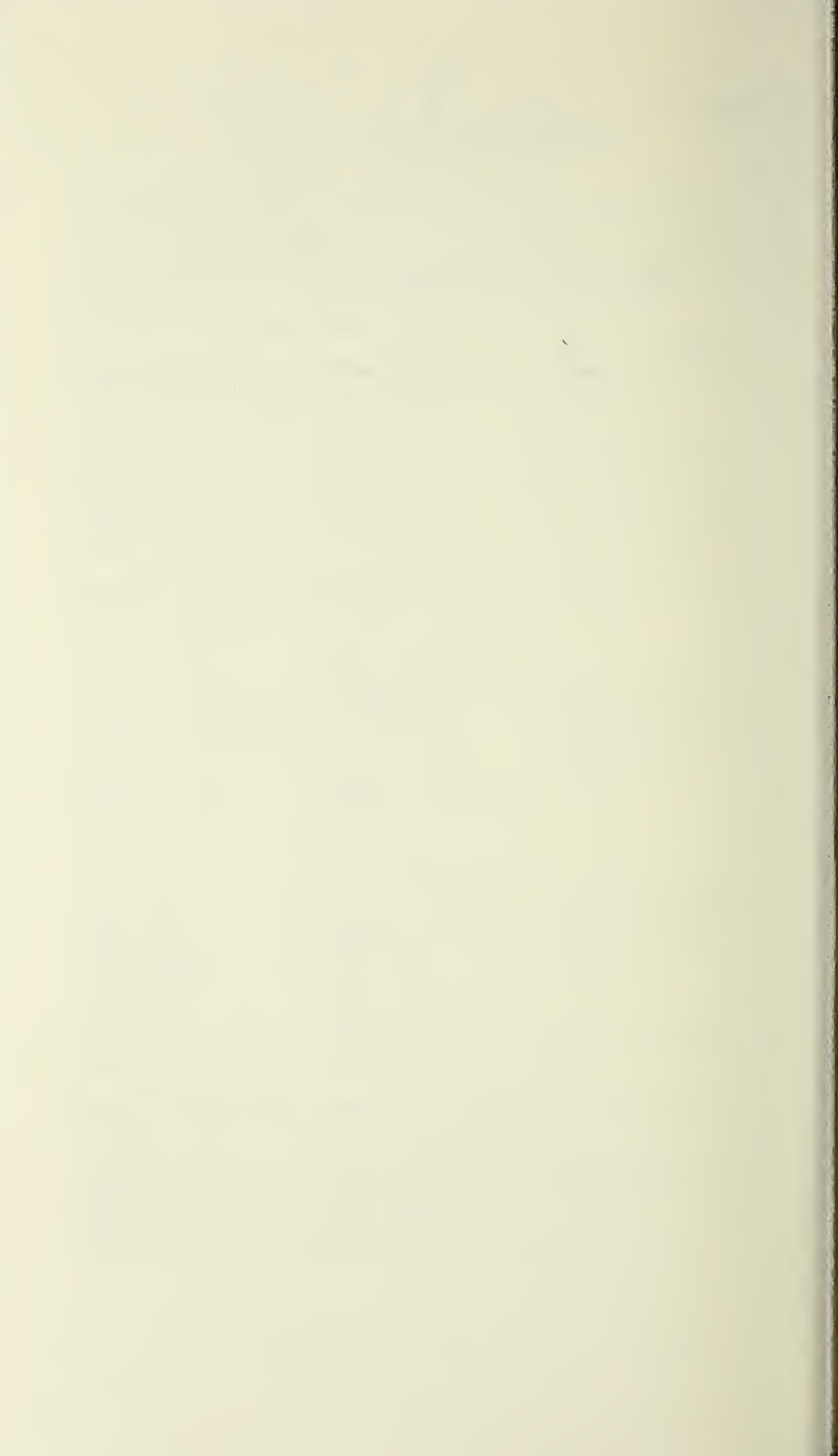
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Castle, G. P.	Damon, F. W.	Dole, E. P.
Castle, J. B.	Damon, S. M.	Dole, Hon. S. B.
Castle, W. R.	Day, Dr. F. R.	Dowsett, J. M.
Emerson, J. S.	Emerson, Dr. N. B.	Emmeluth, J.
Emerson, Mrs. J. S.	Emerson, Rev. O. P.	
Fisher, J. H.	Frear, Hon. W. F.,	
Giffard, W. M.	Goodale, W. W.	Graham, W. M.
*Haalelea, Mrs. A. A.	Henriques, E.	Humphreys, A. S.
Hackfeld, J. F.	Herrick, C. F.	Hustace, C.
Hall, W. W.	Hobron, T. W.	Irwin, W. G.
Hartwell, A. S.	Hillebrand, Miss H.	
Hatch F. M.	Ho Fon	
Jones, P. C.	Judd, Albert F.	
Lewers, Robert	McClanahan, E. B.	May, Thos.
Logan, D.	McGonagle, Chas.	Mott-Smith, E. A.
Lowrey, F. J.	McIntyre, H. E.	Nakuina, M. K.
Lucas, George	Marx, B. L.	Nolte, H. J.
Lyle, James	Mackintosh, Rev. A.	
Lyons, C. J.	Magoon, J. A.	
Parke, W. C.	Pearson, Arthur W.	Potter, Geo. C.
Peacock, W. C.	Pond, Percy M.	
Restarick, Rt. Rev. H. B.	Robinson, M. P.	Rowell, W. E.
Rhodes, C. L.	Rodgers, Dr. C. T.	
Schaefer, F. A.	Smith, G. W.	Stokes, John
Schmidt, H. W.	Smith, Henry	Swanzy, F. M.
Searle, J. C.	Smith, Walter G.	
Sedgwick, T. F.	Smith, W. O.	

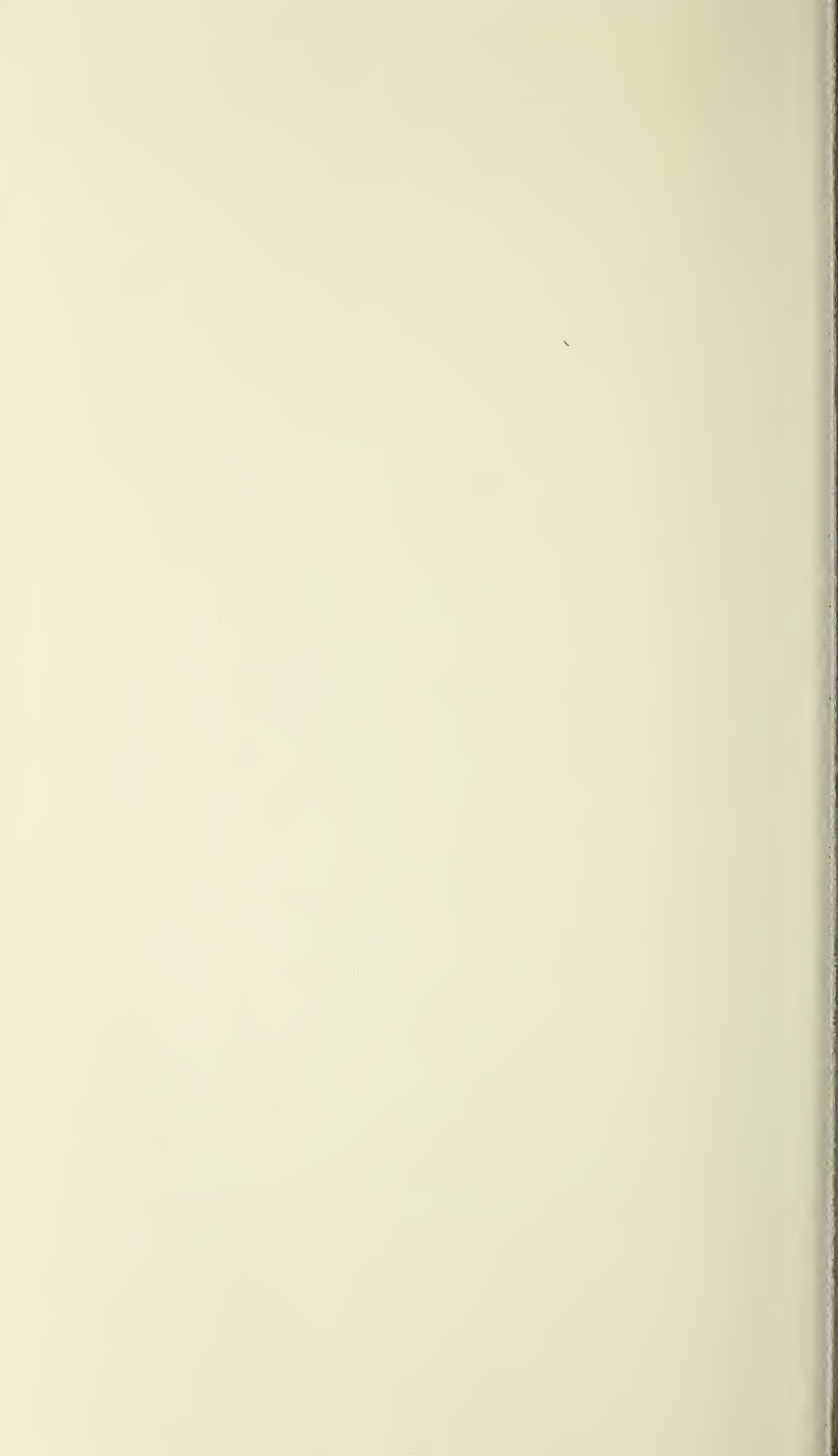
Timmons, L. D.	Thrum, T. G.	von Holt, H.
Towse, Ed.	Thurston, L. A.	
Walker, T. R.	Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wilson, W. F.
Wall, W. E.	Wichman, H. F.	Wodehouse, E. H.
*Waterhouse, H.	Wilcox, A. S.	Wood, Dr. C. B.
Weaver, P. L.	Wilcox, C.	Wood, Edgar
Westervelt, Rev. W. D.	Wilcox, G. N.	Wundenberg, F.
Whiting, W. A.	Williams, H. H.	

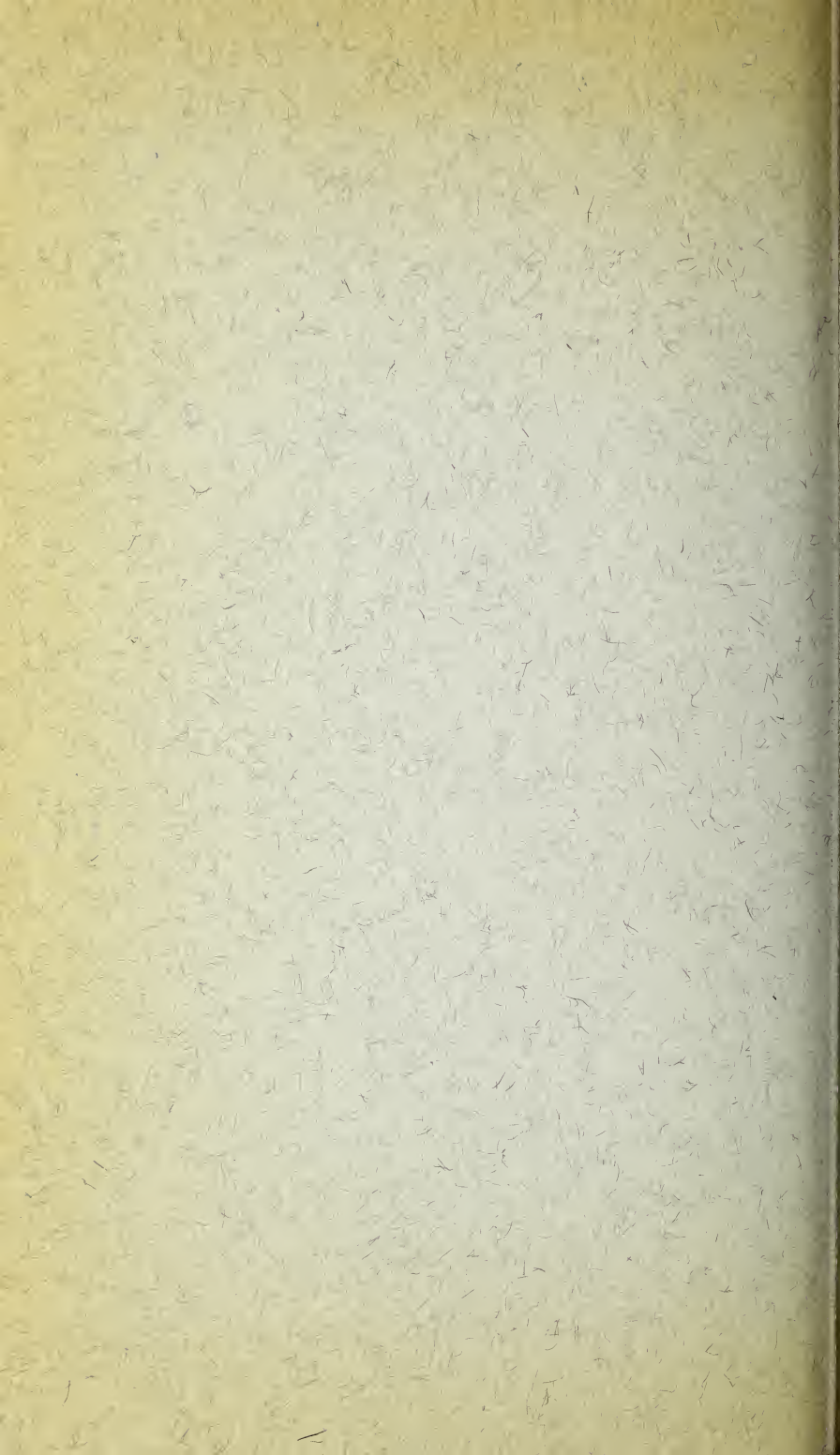
*Deceased.

The names of members deceased are omitted from the list after one year.









TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

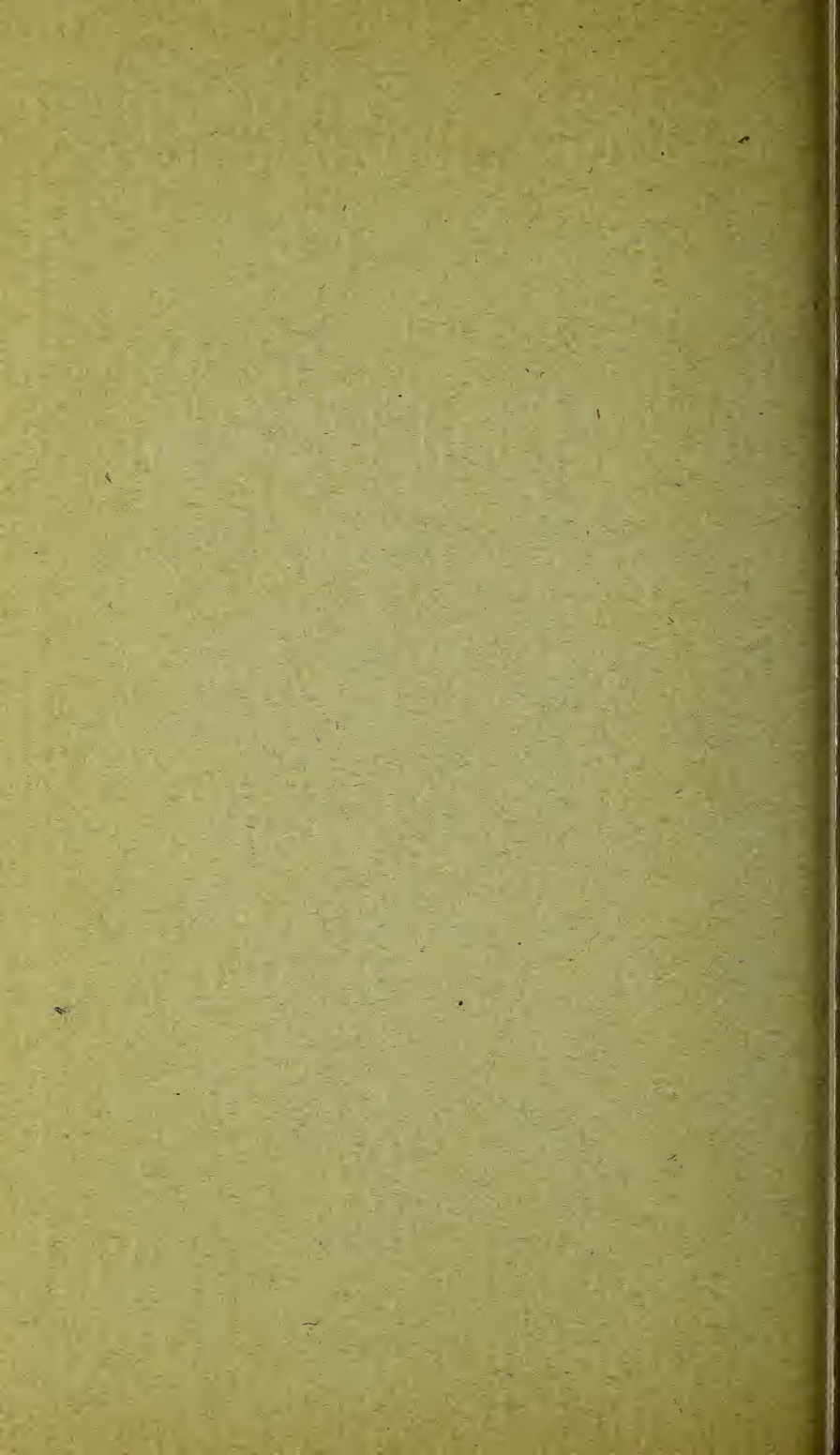
FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31st, 1904



*WITH A PAPER BY MR. ED TOWSE
ON THE "VOYAGE OF THE
TETAUTUA"*

HONOLULU
1905



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OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31st, 1904



*WITH A PAPER BY MR. ED TOWSE
ON THE "VOYAGE OF THE
TETAUTUA"*

HONOLULU
1905

OFFICERS, 1905.

PRESIDENT.....	PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT	REV. A. MACKINTOSH
SECOND " "	MR. J. S. EMERSON
THIRD " "	HON. A. S. HARTWELL
RECORDING SECRETARY.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....	MR. W. A. BRYAN
TREASURER.....	MR. W. W. HALL
LIBRARIAN.....	MISS HELEN L. HILLEBRAND

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD DECEMBER 2, 1904.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in its Library room at 8 p. m. December 2, 1904, the President, Dr. N. B. Emerson, being in the chair.

The President opened the meeting with remarks on the value of the Society to the community. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary, Librarian and Treasurer then read their reports, all of which were accepted and ordered to be placed on file and published.

The following persons were elected active members of the Society on the recommendation of the board of managers.

Edward W. Heusinger, of San Antonio, Texas; H. E. Hendrick, Mrs. W. F. Frear, Miss G. Darling and Mr. F. W. Terry.

On the recommendation of the board of managers, the initiation fee was reduced from five to two dollars, this being an amendment to the Constitution, Article III, of which due notice had been given at a previous meeting by Hon. S. B. Dole.

The disposition of duplicate books in the Library was, on motion of Mr. Bryan, referred to the board of managers with power to act.

Mr. Bryan, Secretary of the Committee on Landmarks, (of which the other members are Dr. N. B. Emerson, Prof. W. D. Alexander, Prof. W. T. Brigham and Mr. L. A. Thurston, reported progress. Twenty-five letters had been sent out through the Islands asking for suggestions concerning historical

places and the general work. Many sympathetic replies had been received, and more than one hundred spots of interest had been indicated.

It was voted that this committee continue its work. The following persons were elected officers for the coming year:

PRESIDENT.....	W. D. ALEXANDER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.....	REV. A. MACKINTOSH
SECOND " "	MR. J. S. EMERSON
THIRD " "	HON. A. S. HARTWELL
RECORDING SECRETARY.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....	MR. W. A. BRYAN
TREASURER.....	MR. W. W. HALL
LIBRARIAN.....	MISS HELEN L. HILLEBRAND

Mr. Ed Towse then read the paper of the evening, entitled "The Voyage of the Schooner 'Tetautua,'" which was requested for publication. The meeting then adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH W. W. HALL, TREASURER

For Year Ending December 2, 1904.

RECEIPTS.

Jan. 10—	Amt. brot. forward from last year.....	\$ 2.66	
	“ dues to March 10, 1904.....	36.00	
Apr. 1—	“ dues to April 1, 1904.....	15.00	
	“ received from sale of pamphlets..	4.50	
May 2—	“ dues to May 1, \$19; pamphlets .50	19.50	
June 30—	“ dues for May, \$17; dues for June, \$16.....	33.00	
	“ from sale of pamphlets.....	5.00	
July 1—	“ dues for July.....	3.00	
Nov. 29—	“ dues to date.....	2.00	\$ 120.66

SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT.

Jan. 1—	Cash in Saving's Bank.....	392.70	
July 1—	Interest on McBryde Plant. Bonds....	60.00	
	Interest on funds deposited.....	8.75	461.45
			<hr/>
			\$ 582.11

DISBURSEMENTS.

Apr. 1—	Paid for services of Janitor.....	\$ 14.50
	“ “ extra services of Janitor.....	4.50
	“ “ collecting dues... ..	7.30
	“ “ stamps and postal cards.....	5.60
	“ “ moving chairs.....	.25
	“ “ 500 24-page pamphlets	30.00
	“ “ books (3).....	4.20
	“ “ printing 500 cards.....	2.50

April 1—Paid for binding volumes of papers	7.00	
“ “ wrappers, .25; book poison, .50	.75	
“ “ printing 400 Annual Reports...	34.50	
“ Miss H. Hillebrand for sund. exp.	2.00	
		<hr/>
	\$113.10	
Balance of cash in hand.....	7.56	
Balance in Savings Bank.....	461.45	\$ 582.11
		<hr/>

E. & O. Ex.

W. W. HALL, Treasurer.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society,
for the year ending November, 1904.

Gentlemen:

There is little for your Librarian to report since the last annual meeting.

Mr. Hiram Bingham, Jr., of Cambridge, Mass., has presented to the Society "The Discovery of Australia," by George Collingridge, and from the Bishop Museum we have received the annual report of the Director, and their publication "Hawaiian Antiquities," by David Malo.

The following books were purchased by the Society:

Around the World with a King, by W. N. Armstrong.

Hawaiki, the original home of the Maori, by S. Percy Smith.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, by Mrs. E. A. Talbot.

The annual reports and papers of the H. H. S. to date have been bound for its library, also the Hawaii Herald and Hilo Tribune, for 1903.

A number of other volumes relating to Hawaii and Polynesia which were on hand and of sufficient value for preservation have been added, viz:

Die heilige Sage der Polynesien, von Adolph Bastian.

Bible geography in Hawaiian.

Bartimeus, of the Sandwich Islands, by Hiram Bingham.

Gilbert Island geography, by Mrs. Hiram Bingham.

Constitution and laws of Kamehameha III.

History of the Sandwich Islands, by Sheldon Dibble, 1843.

Hawaiian arithmetic.

Hawaiian collection of church music.

Index to land claims, 1881.

Ministerial reports, 1876.

Missionary records; the Sandwich Islands.

Memories of Hawaii, by Julius Palmer.

Again in Hawaii, by Julius Palmer.

Personal reminiscences of W. C. Parke.

Five years' church work in Hawaii, by the Bishop.

There are a number of duplicate books in possession of the Society, which should be made use of. Would it not be well to dispose of them, if a fair price could be obtained, as it is difficult to keep them from the ravages of insects? I append herewith a list of the same.

Respectfully submitted,

HELEN L. HILLEBRAND,

Librarian H. H. S.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1904.

It is with regret that I am obliged to say that I have but little to report this evening. The activity of our friends in New Zealand in the study of Polynesian history and folk-lore is in decided contrast with our apparent inactivity in those fields.

Mr. Edward W. Heusinger, secretary of the Scientific Society of San Antonio, Texas, has shown his interest in the objects of our Society in a substantial manner.

From Mr. Wm. N. Seaver of the Publisher's Weekly, New York, we have received two sets of proofs of a list of the official documents of Hawaii, which is to appear in the forthcoming Part III of Bowker's series of "State Publications." This work is to cover eventually all the States and Territories of the United States, Parts I and II, covering the States from Maine to Wisconsin, having been already issued. Part III is to cover all the States and Territories west of the Mississippi except the three Southern States, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas.

This is a purely "altruistic" work, of which Mr. Bowker is bearing the expense, in behalf of United States history and bibliography, for it is expected that the returns from the sale of the entire edition, (500 copies), will cover only half the expense. It is clearly our duty to cooperate heartily in such an enterprise, for the sake of preserving as full a record as possible of the official publications of this Territory in times past.

May we not hope that the time is not far distant when the archives of the Hawaiian Government will be safely housed in a fireproof structure, properly arranged and fully indexed, in the

same manner as the archives of other civilized countries. The inquisitorial visit which Mr. Worthington C. Ford, chief custodian of the manuscripts in the library of Congress, made here some three years ago, was a warning to us of what may happen if this invaluable historical material is allowed to suffer from neglect.

The older archives, in particular, say from 1820 to 1850, contain much material which is well worth printing, not to speak of numerous manuscripts in private collections, which are liable to be lost if not rescued from oblivion by the "art preservative of all arts."

In my former reports frequent mention has been made of several valuable works, the publication of which is only delayed by the want of another Mr. Bowker. The "Reminiscences" of Mr. H. L. Sheldon, covering the period from 1845 to 1864, which originally appeared in a local periodical, are also worthy of being reprinted in book form. The same is true of the recollections of Dr. S. E. Bishop, published in the "Friend." I may state in this connection that I expect to edit the greater part of the diary kept by the late Stephen Reynolds from 1826 till 1854, which is being copied by his daughter, Mrs. Matilda R. Wilmarth of W. Boxford, Mass.

I will take this opportunity to call attention to an important work just published by Edward Tregear, entitled "The Maori Race," which is the ripe fruit of a lifetime of study and observation, in which the native people of New Zealand are described in a manner at once sympathetic and comprehensive. Mr. S. Percy Smith says of it: "In the 'Maori Race,' Mr. Tregear has given us the very thing wanted; we may there study the Maori from his childhood to his death—nay, far beyond that, for his spiritual life beyond the grave is detailed for us according to the belief of the old people." It is to be wished that some literary *kahuna* would do as much for the Hawaiian of the olden time as Mr. Tregear

has done for the Maori. As Mr. Eldson Best remarks: "The trail to Te Reinga (or Milu) will soon be traversed by the last of the old Tohungas," and what remains to be done in this way must be done speedily. I will leave it to others to report on the subject of historic sites.

To conclude, it is a matter of congratulation that a new society of patriotic ladies has entered this field, in which there is ample room for all to labor, and we hope that the example set by the "Daughters of Hawaii" will incite her "sons" to take a greater interest in the past history of their country. For it may safely be said that no Territory of the United States has had so varied and interesting a history or folk-lore as that of Hawaii, which is the object of both of our societies to preserve from oblivion.

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. ALEXANDER,
Corresponding Secretary.

VOYAGE OF THE SCHOONER "TETAUTUA"

(Prepared and read before the Hawaiian Historical Society at its
Annual Meeting in Honolulu, December 2nd, 1904)

Early in the year 1898 the clipper schooner Tetautua was lost to its bearings about a week out of Papeete, Tahiti, and eighty-two days from the beginning of the voyage arrived at the port of Hookena, Hawaii, this group. The story of the trip, in several particulars, is one, or makes one of the most remarkable accounts of unusual navigation in the Pacific Ocean. As news editor of the Daily Advertiser newspaper of this city the writer published in that journal on May 27, 1898, the following:

"The little schooner Tetautua (in Hawaiian, Kekaukua) from Tahiti, arrived in port early yesterday morning in command of Deputy Sheriff Lazaro of Hookena, who was detailed by Sheriff Andrews to bring her to this port for the purpose of having matters arranged with the Consul here in order to admit of the schooner returning to Tahiti, the home of the people now aboard. The schooner arrived off this port at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday night, but it was not deemed proper to bring her in at that time. Deputy Sheriff Lazaro called in at this office last evening and gave a most interesting account of his experiences with Captain Tanau (in Hawaiian, Kanau) and the people on the vessel, all of whom, the half-caste Frenchman (son of the owner) excepted, are pure Tahitians. Said Lazaro:

"The Tetautua arrived in Hookena on May 21st. There was an abundance of food, such as flour and rice, aboard, but no firewood with which to cook it. As to water, it happened that three days before sighting Hawaii they were blessed with a shower which gave them about three gallons. Previous to

this they had suffered for many days from thirst. When the schooner arrived at Hookena the people aboard were in a pitiable state.

"I furnished them with all the necessities in the line of eatables and they were made very comfortable.

"When the Tahitians began to look about them they expressed great wonder at various objects unknown in their native land. Never did they once complain about their ill luck; a more affable set of people I have never met. They are graceful in the extreme and were thankful for the favors done them.

"The Tahitian language is so very similar to the Hawaiian, that it was not long before I could understand them as well as people of my own race. They do not pronounce their words in a very distinct manner, but seem to depend on the sound and force placed on the various syllables for the meanings which they wish to convey. When they first came ashore they shouted 'Tanotapu,' one of the islands near their home. When they spied some of us on horseback they shook their heads signifying a mistake and called our animals 'pua-a hele honua,' which means pigs that travel over the earth. We told them they had landed in Hawaii. This word they could not say, but persisted in calling it 'Pahi.'

"The sympathy of the people of Hookena was with the castaway Tahitians from the moment they landed. They were to have been given a big luau on Tuesday, but it was necessary for the vessel to make Honolulu, so there was a regular 'hoo-kupu' and all the eatables were sent aboard.

"On Sunday night the captain of the vessel gave a short and interesting talk in the church, telling of the customs and laws of his country.

"Upon arrival off port on Wednesday night the Tahitians threw up their hands and shouted 'Honolulu' as if they were arriving back in their own home."

Deputy Sheriff Lazaro will return to his home on the Mauna

Loa to-day. He is an old sailor and on that account was entrusted with the mission of piloting the Tetautua to this port.

During the stay of the Tetautua in the port of Honolulu I had not a little contact with the captain, supercargo, sailors and passengers of the craft. All conversation was through the medium of interpreters. For French I was able to requisition the services of Mr. Louis Touissaint, an employee of the Metropolitan Meat Company, and incidentally the host for a time of the supercargo of the Tetautua. My Tahitian interpreter was a half-caste native of Papeete, at that time a member of the mounted patrol of the Honolulu Police Force. Both these gentlemen were of great assistance in the difficult task of securing what I may call a connected story of the voyage or rather the drifting trip of the schooner.

John Charles Rey, age 22, the supercargo, was apparently the most intelligent man aboard the vessel. He was a diffident talker, but seemed to make every effort to be exact and made frequent reference to rude notes he had jotted down at different times. This is what he said, as I have compiled it from our half dozen interviews:

"I am the younger son of the principal blacksmith at Papeete. My uncle owned the cargo of the Tetautua and had placed me in charge of it. He also had the schooner under charter from a company of natives that owned it. The vessel was of San Francisco build, twenty-nine tons burden, and was formerly the Lamoine, and had been in those waters a number of years carrying freight and passengers and being used by pearl fisheries. It floated the British flag, although George Dexter, my uncle, is a naturalized citizen of France. Dexter & Co. are merchants in pearls and copra. I had been six years with my uncle, whose wife is the sister of my mother. I had made many trips between Papeete and Penrhyn Island and other islands, doing commerce with Tahiti. I had come down to Papeete with another schooner which my uncle was to take charge of upon his arrival later.

"I loaded the Tetautua with flour, rice, sugar, dry goods, canned goods, biscuit and some fresh vegetables. Tanau was the captain; there were four native men in the crew. We had two passengers for Penrhyn—a newly married couple who were finishing their wedding trip to Papeete, being natives of Penrhyn.

"We were to make a stop at Scilly, 300 miles southwest, and then to continue about 500 miles further to Penrhyn. The start was made on February 26. There was not on board a compass, sextant or chronometer. We had no use for these. Neither the captain nor myself or any one on board had any knowledge whatever of the appliances of navigation. The captain had the reputation of being able to sail a schooner to or from any given place in the South Pacific. I had a good acquaintance with those waters and so did the sailors.

"We had 200 gallons of water on board. With a free wind we arrived at Scilly Island on March 1 and discharged there goodly quantities of rice, flour and other supplies for the managers and divers of the station.

"On March 2d, late in the afternoon, we stood off from Scilly and headed the schooner for the run to Penrhyn, which ended in a voyage to the Hawaiian Islands, 2100 miles from Papeete by the regular run and perhaps more than 3000 miles by our course.

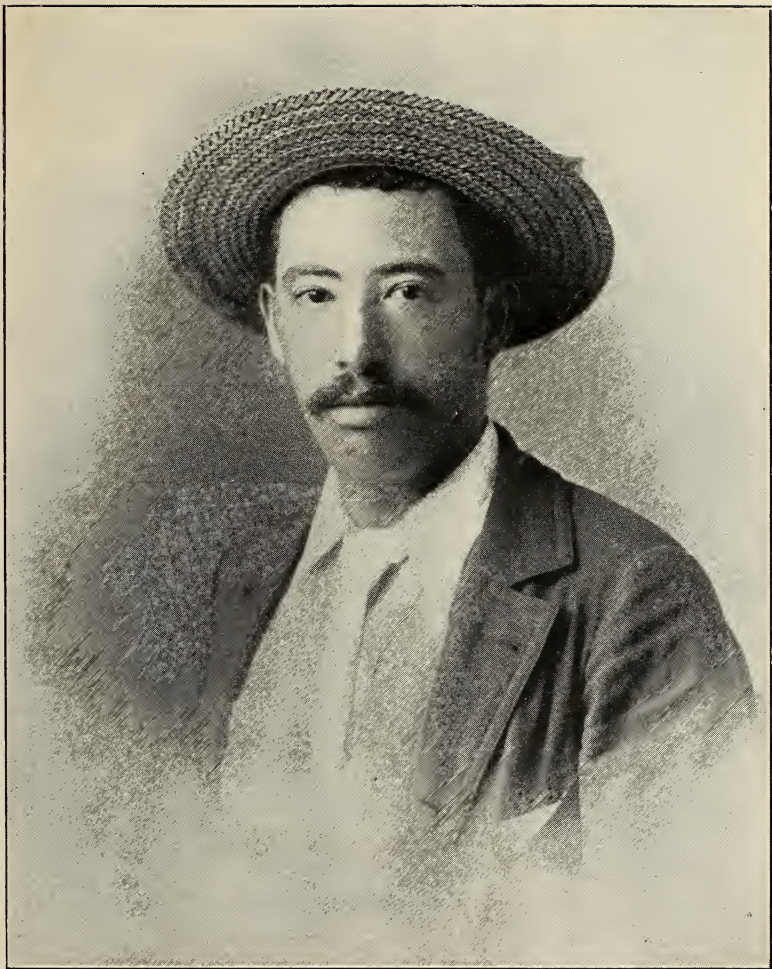
"On the eighth day from Scilly the captain said that on the following morning we should see Penrhyn and when we did not sight it he declared we had passed it in the night. Penrhyn lies low and has its lagoon like nearly all the islands of the south.

"At evening of the day the captain had expected to see Penrhyn he told us he had decided to put about and there followed seven days of beating. Toward the end of this week some of us began to get alarmed and to fear that we were lost. We had left Scilly with 160 or 170 gallons of water remaining in the

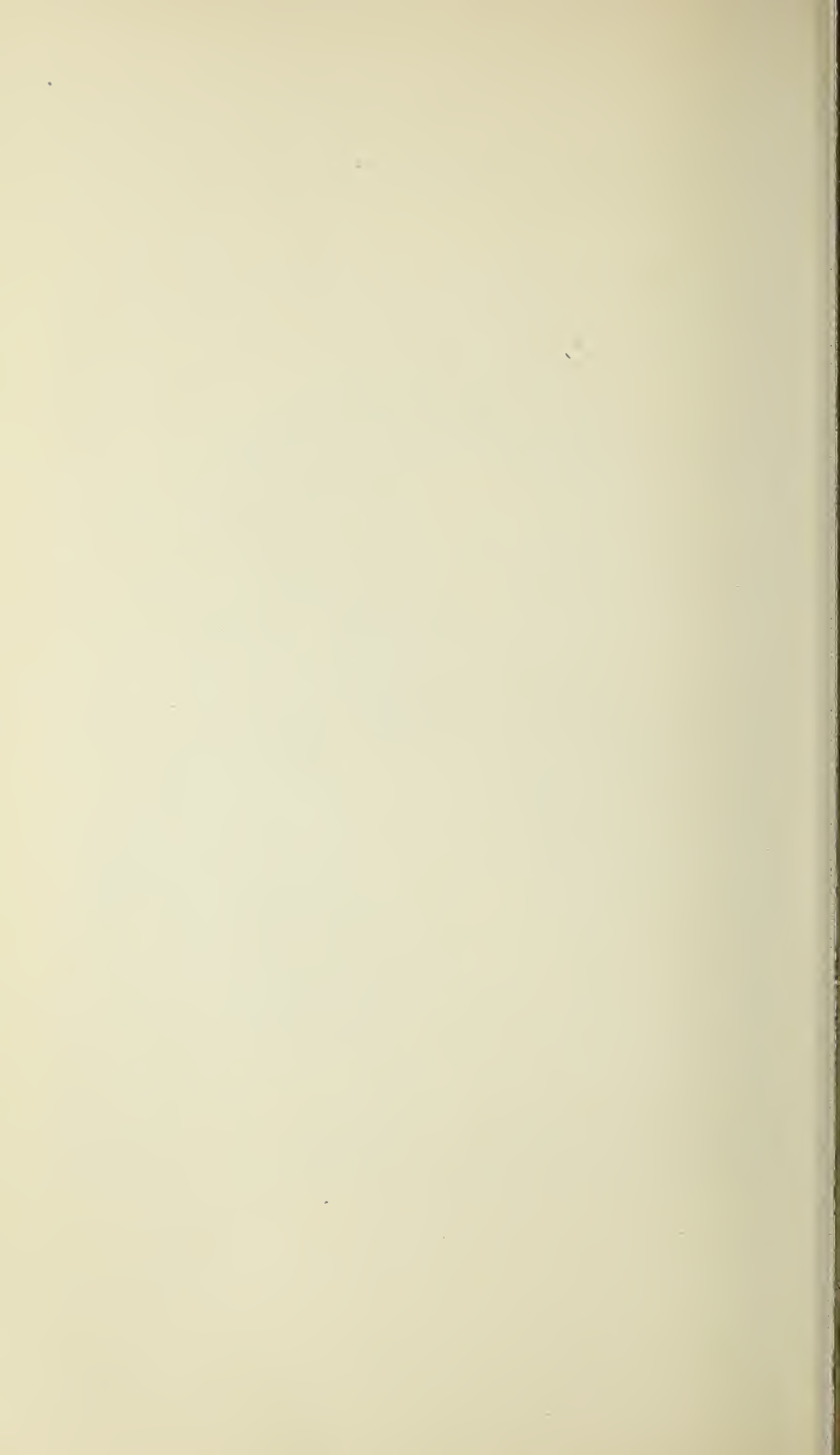
tanks, which held 200 when we left Papeete, and we commenced to economize with it. We talked to the captain toward the close of the seventh day, and as the result he put the schooner on the same tack for three days. We were now down to thirty gallons of water and the captain proposed that we lay a course for Manahiki, an island we all knew. After eight days, during which time we ran out of water, but in a heavy rain caught enough for two weeks, the captain said he had made a mistake about Manahiki, that he now knew just where he was and would in a short time land us on one of the islands of Waihi, as the Tahitians call Hawaii.

"We now had beat to windward for exactly thirty days and all of the time were in great distress. We were much frightened and at night the woman and nearly all the men would weep with terror. Threats were made to kill the captain, but he was a brave man and punished with his fists those who spoke against him. The captain would call all hands to prayer at morning and evening and always led the meetings. He had me read from a prayer book I happened to have along. As the captain was at the wheel so much, his rules on the use of water could not be enforced and, native like, the crew would take what they wanted right down to the mud. The Penrhyn man and woman often moistened their mouths with water from the ocean. They had been accustomed from childhood to frequently use very brackish water only for long periods.

"One day we caught five bonita and had a fine feast. There were ten gallons of claret in the stores, but it lasted only a few days, when once placed at the disposal of the crew. It was the same with two dozen of canned tomatoes. The two Penrhyn people refused from temperance principles to touch the wine. We had two small boxes of potatoes and boiled them in sea water. About the same amount of onions we fried in butter. On one occasion, being out of fuel ten days, we picked up a large redwood log. Every day all of us would



JOHN CHARLES REY, SUPERCARGO SCHR. "TETAUTUA"



drop overboard to bathe and lessen thirst. There were several narrow escapes from sharks. At times, near midday, the captain would take a bottle and his chart of the North and South Pacific Ocean and pretend to make an observation. He said he could figure latitude, but was unable to ascertain longitude. He did not deceive any of us, for all understood his plan was simply to raise our spirits. Again he would study the stars, of which he really had some knowledge, but if he learned anything of our position from his gazing he did not impart the information to us.

"March 17, 4 p. m.—Sighted a three-masted schooner, but made no attempt to communicate with it, the captain shouting strict orders against signaling. The captain could swear well, even if he did pray a good deal.

"March 19—"We have passed the Marquesas," said the captain.

"All of us discouraged and unhappy.

"March 21—I urged the captain to sail for Manahiki and he readily agreed to do so—but seemed to keep on as before.

"March 22—Stopped the use of water in cooking. This was a great deprivation.

"March 23—Caught one fish, a large bonita. While we were catching it the captain said he was not sure he was steering toward Manahiki, because there were so many cloudy days.

March 25—The sun appears again and it is very warm. The captain is below all day.

"March 26—At 6 p. m. no more water. I communicated this to the captain and he replied that we would soon land on an island.

"March 27—Opened a five-gallon demijohn of claret and gave a little to each person aboard, excepting the Penrhyn man and woman, who refused it. From using sugar with claret we tried the effect of it on salt water, but the sugar would not neutralize the salt.

"April 1—No more wood for the stove. We had been trying all sorts of experiments in cooking.

"April 2—The captain organized watches of four hours on and four hours off and tacked with the vessel west by north.

"April 6—Heavy rain for four or five hours and we caught a fair supply of water.

"April 17—Caught a fish.

"Very small portion for each; made a soup or stew of the fish juice and bones with rice. It was quite a satisfying dish.

"April 19—Such a rain that we secured about forty gallons of water, which made us all very happy.

"April 22—No more wine. I think I was the only one who cared about this.

"April 23—One of the very worst days of the whole trip. A squall coming up suddenly, nearly all our water, which had carelessly been left in various containers on deck, was swept overboard. We at once began to suffer fearfully.

"April 30—Absolutely not a drop of water left. We feel deserted by our Father in heaven.

"April 30 to May 6—Only moisture for our lips, a small ration of canned tomato once a day. All growing very weak. No more birds in the air. Up to this time we had seen them often. A bad omen.

"May 6—A providential rain by which we caught a little water, the same being used and looked after with the greatest care.

"May 13—No more water. The captain thrashed three sailors for grumbling, and threatened to punish them further when we reached land.

"May 14—No more tomatoes. This was a great deprivation.

"May 15—All ill from eating sugar.

"May 16—Found two small potatoes and an onion and divided them. All nearly starved, weak, lame and ill except the captain.

"May 17—At two o'clock in the morning had the great joy of seeing a bark. She was showing the first lights we had encountered during the whole of our voyage and we were so close to her that we were positive that relief from our sufferings was at hand. Everybody able went to the side of the schooner. The bark was sailing fast, running before the wind. We could not have been more than one hundred feet away from her when two of the sailors, the captain and myself, by prearrangement, joined in shouts. We had grown much weaker than we supposed, for no attention whatever was paid to our hails. However, it was a dark and rough night and we ourselves did not display lights. By daylight the bark, which I have since learned was named Winchester, was nowhere in sight. Our first joy was now turned to mourning. The captain cut his prayers and my reading much shorter than usual and the Penrhyn man and woman were in the utmost despair, weeping and wailing the whole day. All hands were on deck from daylight to dark this day. Most of us were straining our eyes in the hope of seeing a sail. The captain at noon made another of his pretended observations.

"May 18—Made four long tacks, about as usual.

"It rained and we caught a gallon of water, which was used up in a few minutes.

"May 19—There was another incident this day with some encouragement for at least myself. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon we picked up a log fifteen feet long and three feet in diameter. One end I judged to be freshly broken and the other recently burned. I believed this to have been from under a wharf, as there were some barnacles on it. I also thought that some natives had perhaps been trying to make a dugout canoe with it and had lost it by the tide. Previously I had very seldom offered the captain advice, but now I argued with him that he should use every effort to keep a course in the direction from which this great log had evidently drifted. He agreed to this

and all on board were at once in some hope. All were in sad physical plight from want of water and food. This day one of the sailors out of sheer exhaustion fell into the sea and it took us more than an hour to get him back on the schooner again. After he had been saved the sailor began to declare that his mishap was a certain sign that all of us would perish. Talk on this subject developed into one of the most serious quarrels of the journey, all taking one side or the other.

Finally the Penrhyn woman suggested that the captain offer prayer. He did so and then we all had a smoke. It was providential that we had recourse to pipes and cigarettes all the time. We were enabled to pass many trying days the quicker by smoking and card playing, but the Penrhyn couple would have nothing to do with our tobacco or card games. This day covered a greater distance than usual.

"May 20—At 2 o'clock in the afternoon I left all the others below and coming on deck went aft for a talk with the captain. So soon as my eyes had become accustomed to the light I peered sharp ahead and after a few minutes told the captain that I believed I saw land over the starboard bow. The captain replied that I was mistaken; that he had seen the cloud for some time. I was pretty certain it was land, but I did not care to dispute with the captain, and in ten minutes or so went below again. At 4 o'clock I came on deck once more and insisted with the captain that the land was right there in the same place. His answer this time was that it was a rainstorm coming and that we might be able to catch some water. Then the captain and sailors began to ridicule me. They only stopped joking me when it was time for evening prayers. There was no more mention of land and soon after dark we all went to bed again. Everybody on that schooner could sleep well day and night nearly all the voyage. The captain and myself occupied bunks in the cabin. Several times during the night, which was a bright one, the captain left his bed for a look outside. I heard

finally the sailor on watch hoarsely crying 'Kail Ho!' It was just exactly midnight. I ran out leaving the captain asleep and saw a white light. I thought it was a vessel. I lighted a lantern and sent it aloft on our foremast. I kept calling the captain, but he did not appear. In about five minutes I went into the cabin and roused him from a heavy sleep. By this time all were on deck crying 'Land, land!' So soon as the captain had a look he exclaimed that it was land sure enough. Said he: 'I have been sailing for Waihi as did my fathers before me and this is one of the islands and must be the big one that I heard of when a boy.' All were now overjoyed at our salvation and wept and offered thanks to God and embraced each other. Everybody remained on deck and the schooner stood on and off the island or land, waiting only for the blessed daylight that was to end our wanderings on the great waters.

"May 21—At 5 o'clock in the morning we could see the land plainly. The captain said: 'This is larger than any of the Cook Islands, neither is it a Samoan island. This is surely Tonga-Tapu.' Now, Tonga-Tapu is near Fiji, 500 or 600 miles from Cook Islands. It seemed to me that the captain did not care to tell us where he was, but in his mind deeply believed he had reached Hawaii, because he knew well, having been a sailor all his life, of ancient voyages from Tahiti to this group. Really he was just joking us, as was his custom at times. As we approached land we saw houses on the hills. At half-past ten I set off from the schooner for shore with three men in our boat, which was still in excellent condition. We carried two demijohns for water and our British flag. We rowed about eight miles, but it was not hard work at all. As we neared the beach some natives who had been looking at us ran away. We saw some cattle. Next the crowd of natives came back with three men on horseback in the lead. On seeing the cattle and horses the sailors declared that we had reached an island near Tonga-Tapu—a place of which they had been told by

the captain. I thought the natives were lighter in color and better dressed than the people of the south and expressed my opinion that we had come to a land strange to all of us. We exchanged greetings with the people at the edge of the water and they said the name of the place was Hookena. I asked where we could land and was directed to the wharf. The crowd kept growing and the people were so greatly excited that we were somewhat frightened. They made our boat fast to the landing and Lazaro, the deputy sheriff, said 'Good morning,' and we two shook hands. At this sign of friendship the natives in the boat were satisfied that we were not going to be injured in any way. Lazaro asked where we were from and what we wanted. I answered that we were from Penrhyn under the British flag, and that we wanted water first and would like some food, as we had been many days without either. We had already several times asked for water. Lazaro invited us to his home, which was only a couple of hundred yards away, and while we were walking told us we had reached the largest island of the Hawaiian or Sandwich group. We were given water, of which we drank a large quantity, a little at a time, under the direction of Lazaro. In the meanwhile a dinner had been prepared and we ate heartily of everything placed before us. Lazaro and four or five of his friends went back with us to the schooner after loading the boat with a number of demi-johns of water and some food. I gave one of the demi-johns to the captain, one to the Penrhyn man and his wife and one to the sailors. Lazaro stood by and prevented them from gorging themselves with water. I told the captain that the land was the Island of Hawaii. He said that he knew this from the chart under which he had sailed, and that it was these islands he had been trying to make all the time. He said that we could all go back home by steamer and that he could arrange to have some one sail to schooner to Papeete. He was glad with the rest of us that our adventure was now at an end."

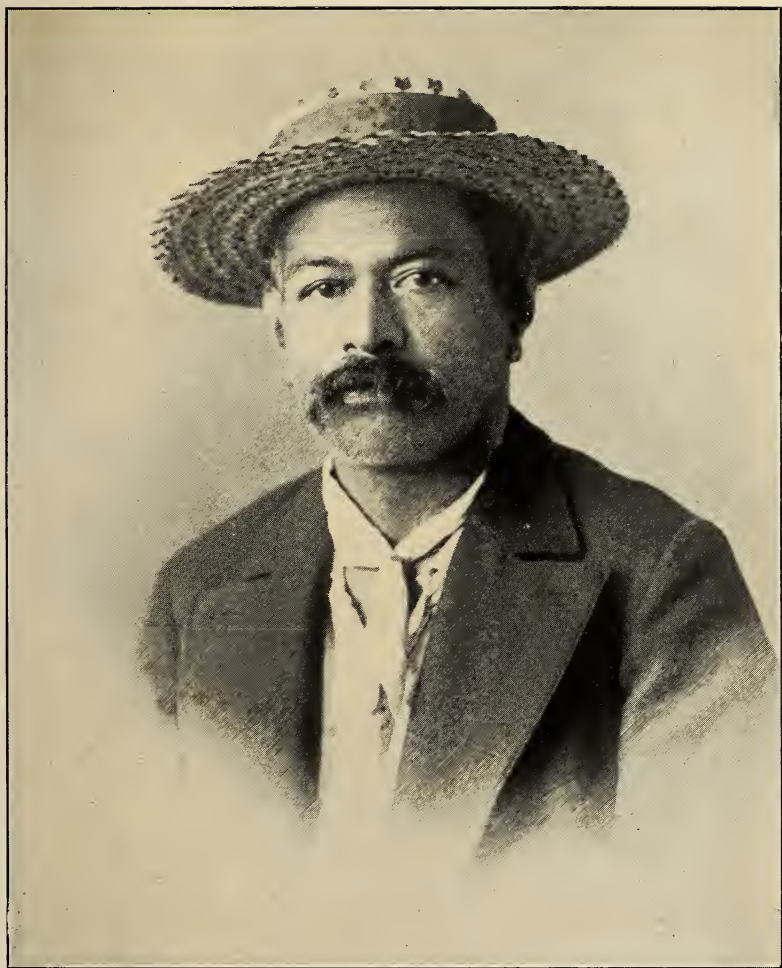
General facts secured from John Charles Rey, the supercargo. —“The night and day sailing were supposed to be the same at all times. The only time anything was washed overboard was when we lost the water, though there were many heavy storms. The small boat was lashed down aft. It happened to remain in good condition. It never occurred to any of us or was never mentioned that we might have to abandon the schooner and take to the small boat. I could tell nothing whatever from the stars. I do not know the Southern Cross when I see it. We started with seven and a half gallons of kerosene and had some left. We did not care for lights at night. I don't know whether or not we crossed the equator. The captain said we did. For ascertaining the time I had a good watch and there was a clock aboard. There were three razors and a pair of heavy scissors on the schooner and one of the sailors was an excellent barber and willingly gave his services to all. This was the same sailor who won all the money when we gambled. Saw sharks often; were followed by sharks several days at a time for weeks. I shot two of them, but we were unable to obtain any of the flesh. We caught two sharks with hooks about ten days before we reached Hawaii, but we did not have the strength to get their carcasses aboard. Many times we tried to eat dry rice, but it was useless. When there was a little water we would crush the rice and mix a sort of paste that somewhat appeased our hunger. We had more tobacco than was needed. We gambled for it at times, but everybody had enough for chewing and smoking. It was native Tahitian tobacco. We started with about a cord and a half of wood. We used it rapidly without thinking and then took the cases in which goods had been packed. We desired to burn some parts of the schooner, but the captain would not allow it.”

Captain Tanau, a full-blooded Tahitian, I found to be a man of parts. He had character and force. After talking

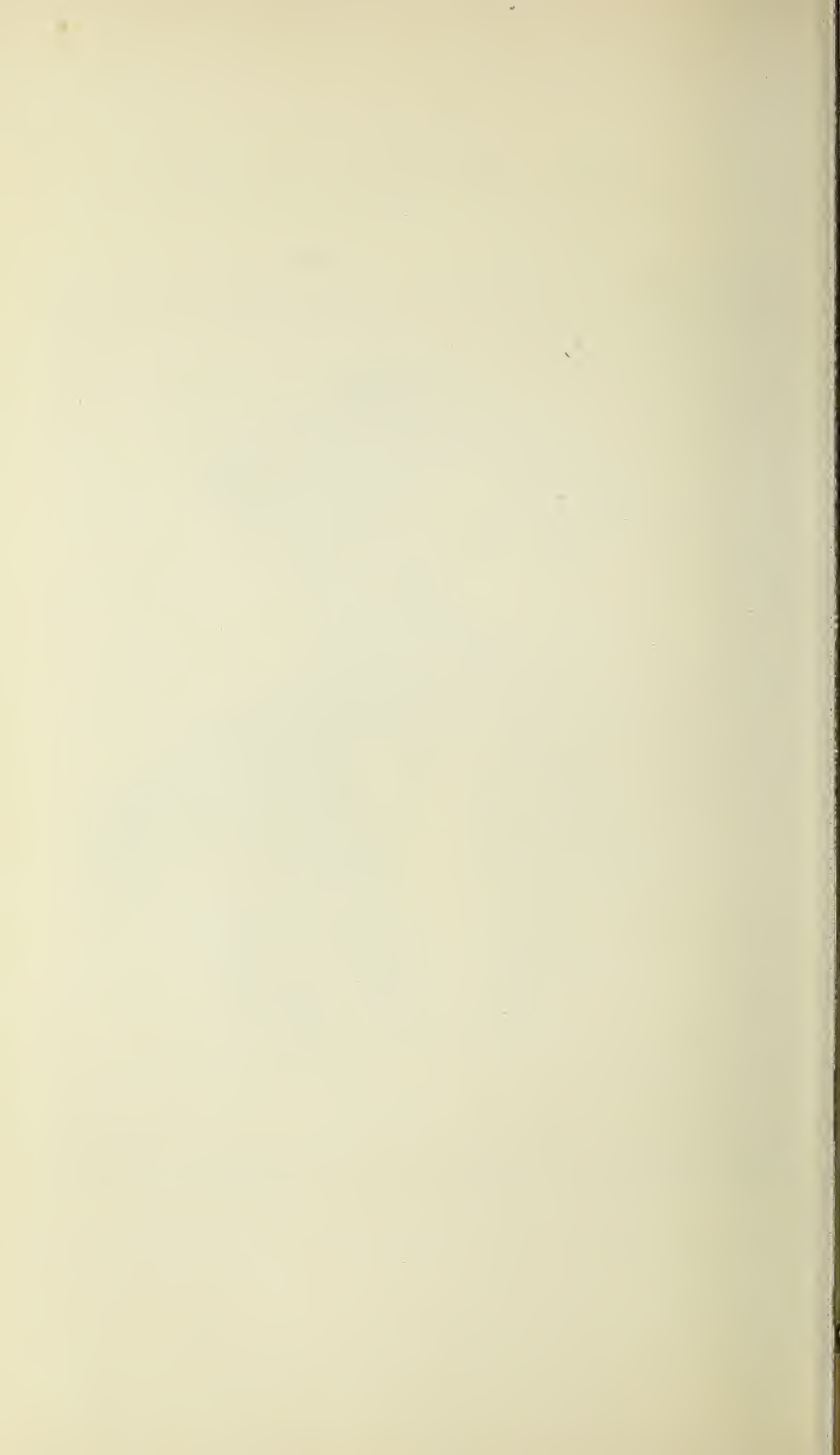
with him but a few minutes, I could see that he had throughout considered the schooner and all the people to be simply in his charge till safely landed. The members of his crew he called "common sailors" and the supercargo "a young boy." Tanau was very apparently a man who at all times depended entirely on himself, and who would recognize the equality of very few other people than master mariners and officials. As a youngster he had made a cruise into the Arctic aboard a whaler, but for twenty-five years had sailed in and out of Papeete and other ports of the South Pacific. I read the whole of the Rey account to the captain and he said it was substantially correct. His statement, about as follows, was then secured:

"I am forty-five years of age, a convert to the Protestant religion, have a wife and three children in Tahiti. Have been a sailor ever since I can remember. Have no knowledge of navigation excepting what I have picked up by hearing white men talk. When we became lost on this trip I depended entirely on my chart and it was enough. All I knew of these islands before studying the charts was what I heard old people say in Tahiti. There are some old meles—historical songs on whaling. I remember a Tahitian princess coming up here to marry into the Hawaiian royal family. I was told the wedding did not take place. I remember John Sumner coming to Tahiti from here with a bark loaded with cattle and merchandise. I did not pay much attention to this visit, only to examine his vessel.

"By taking a look at a chart of the North and South Pacific you can see that a good sailorman could easily enough sail from Tahiti to Honolulu by what they call 'dead reckoning.' Besides I know the stars. The only trouble I had on this voyage that bothered me to amount to anything was the contrary winds after I had decided that it was useless to try further for Penrhyn. I was all the time confident that I had almost the exact position of Tahiti in my mind. When I felt that we



TANAU, CAPTAIN SCHR. "TETAUTUA"



were a great distance from there and that the chances of getting shipwrecked while cruising among low lying islands in the night were great, I thought it best to strike off due north for this group. Then the chart showed me that I would have to be careful to avoid the shoals of the American Isles and of the Marquesas. I resolved to take these chances. We were short of water, but I was sure there would be rains and felt that with showers and the wine and canned tomatoes we could hold out long enough for us to reach these islands in good condition. I do not blame that half-white boy much, but I charged him with care of the water and wine and he was not watchful. When I once laid a course for Hawaii, I put all my thought into sailing the schooner, and into trying to recall what the old people had sung about voyages up here in canoes. It was mostly about the stars. That is the reason I was up at night so much. It was the saying that certain bright stars shed their rays direct upon these islands and the full moon looked right into the group. I picked stars, but was never entirely sure of them. However, I was quite confident that I was sailing almost due north from Tahiti and that if I came only within several hundred miles of the Hawaiian Islands would be sure to meet trading vessels or steamships. The night the Winchester failed to answer our calls as well as the first time Rey saw land, I was certain of reaching Hawaii because I felt it. Somehow I knew all the time after making the decision to try that it would be a success. It was hard work to be tacking all the time—hard to keep the sailors at it. This is the reason I paid so little attention to the affairs of the crew and passengers. I am glad to be here. I wanted to see these islands. I started to keep a log of the voyage, but did not have time to write it and besides I did not want Rey to read it. I can remember enough to tell the owners when I get back. They will not be angry for I have served them faithfully many years.”

I questioned Tanau closely concerning the stars and their

relation to his steering and in this was assisted by an expert navigator. The latter said that the schooner captain really had a very fair idea of the uses of the fixed stars and the moon to the seafarer. We could only learn by Tanau's repetitions that to his eyes as to the eyes of his ancestors certain stars shone in a certain way or at a certain angle upon this group and that the man in the full moon had a certain peculiar glance for "Waihi." Time and again we thought we were at the point of getting something exact from the captain. Once he had us outside our meeting place and pointing to a star in the north said: "That star is looking for these islands. In a few more nights it find them and then go on. Some go to Tahiti the same way, but the stars and the moon like these islands best because in the old days so many priests here."

When we left the captain that night my friend, the navigator, talked long of the ancient relations of his art to superstitions. My own conclusion was that there was really some exact knowledge and a great deal of instinct and success of genuine leadership in the fact of this uneducated sailor bringing a schooner to a small group of islands by more than eighty days of dead "reckoning" under circumstances detailed by the half-caste.

Perhaps a brief allusion to the larger development of the "sense of locality" may not be out of place in a paper of this character. 'Tis said now to be marvelous eye-sight rather than sense of locality that enables homing pigeons to make their remarkable journeys. Birds from strange places have been seen to carry themselves to a considerable height, then strike out on a straight line. If wrong in route, a return is made and a fresh start taken opposite to the first direction. These two flights bisect a circle. A third trial of course covers three-quarters of the circle. If the fourth trial failed to raise a familiar object the bird, according to the account given in the *Scientific American*, was lost, defeated and returned to its cote, or basket, in dis-

grace. It is to be regretted that the interesting sport of flying pigeons has not been cultivated in these Islands—so favorable to the pastime.

The very largest sense of locality or something higher was possessed by many men traveling over the plains of the Great American Desert and the adjacent mountains. Witness the cases, for instance, described in Irving's "Astoria" of single men and men in pairs leaving main parties and unerringly traversing hundreds and hundreds of miles of country of which it was utterly impossible that they could have had the slightest knowledge. Many times in Wyoming as a boy I have known of "green hands" being sent on night journeys up to sixty and seventy miles with but the most incomplete directions. But a few days "on the range" nearly always seemed to place within a man such dependence on himself that he could ride the trackless prairies from point to point with the ease of a city messenger finding a house with the street and number given. The clouds, the winds, the waterways, the undulations of the ground all speak to the "centaur" of the plains. Perhaps a lone tree, a big boulder, a patch of sage brush, the bark of a prairie dog, the howl of a wolf, the chirp of a bird, the alarm of a rattlesnake tell him where he is and where to go. Full of confidence, brave as the bravest, thought concentrated, alert and above all cautious and reasoning, the pony express rider, the scout and guide, the cowboy, appeal to me as being of the same mould as the well-balanced captain of the Tetautua. There is something grand and something uncanny in that cool Tahitian, fearless as a viking of old, sailing that little schooner so many miles and so many days to a safe haven, relying only on his strength of will and the recollection of almost fabled voyages of his forefathers from his native isles to "Waihi," the land of the scheming priests and fighting chiefs.

There was a fine opportunity afforded here only a few years ago for a clear insight into the ideas of a modern Polynesian

on navigation and dead reckoning. When the United States coasting laws were put into force in the Territory this man resigned from the command of a good-sized steamer rather than face the examining board. He was an extremely capable and valued officer and by a ruse was brought into the presence of the Federal visitors. After some conversation he was asked to tell just in his own way how he had been accustomed to taking his vessel from Honolulu to Kona and Kau ports. His reply was about as follows:

“Five o’clock, all aboard. Cast off everything. Touch the bells to engine room, back up, turn around, go out channel, reef and Waikiki to port; pass Diamond Head; keep on and raise Molokai light; keep near to middle of channel and steam on till raise Lahaina light; leave freight and passengers; pretty soon daylight; clear channel of Maui; then make Mahukona, first stop on Hawaii; then keep Hawaii to port and steam down to Kailua, Kona; at night plenty lights ashore; pass Kealakua bay; then go ’round end of Hawaii to Punaluu. Finish. Then come back and pick up some fruit and vegetables and pigs in Kona and cattle at Kawaihae. Hurry to Honolulu, unload stock at cattle pen and go to wharf and then I go home.” This man, after answering a number of questions was recommended for license and received it. He is as safe a commander in these waters as could be found.

The McGregor brothers of the old Wilders’ S. S. Mokolii, running to Molokai once a week from Honolulu for years, would so often change stations that a visitor to the craft was never quite sure which was captain and which was engineer. In fact they sometimes quarreled at length on this very point.

“The lady of the schooner” was not at all communicative until placed with members of her own sex ashore. Then she gave a tale of foolish alarm. She had been haunted by two fears. The first was that there would be a resort to cannibalism and that her husband, on account of being a rather stout man,

would lead the van of those to be sacrificed. Her second great trouble was that a married career begun under such untoward circumstances could scarcely be expected to be a happy one. Her reproof of the profanity she had heard on the schooner was sharp, but was rather offset by her commendation of the regular prayer meetings. She said that she and her husband had suffered least of any on board from thirst.

The sailors of the crew of the Tetautua were a jolly lot just like the same number of Hawaiians similarly placed. They had all the confidence in the world in their commander and were willing to accept any fate with him. They reminded me of the sailors of the Mary E. Foster, the last Hawaiian schooner kept in commission as a sugar carrier between the Islands by the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company. One calm night the schooner, sailing along without lights, was run down in mid-channel by a steamer and sank in a few minutes. The sailors were taken aboard the steamer and were very much pleased over the accident, saying that they would now no more be required to work sail, but would be assigned to steamers. Sailors of all colors and nationalities are much the same. A few miles off the Island of Kauai some years ago one of the local steamers picked up a boat from a wrecked sailing schooner. The men in the boat had been on a strict diet of canned peaches for eight or nine days, but the first thing they asked for was cigarettes. Every mother's son of them was a "cigarette fiend", and had missed this sort of smoking more than anything else.

The affairs of the schooner Tetautua were handled by the local representatives of the British government, as she was flying the Union Jack. The captain and some of the other people reached home via New Zealand on steamer out of Honolulu. Some of them remained with the schooner, which was sailed back to Papeete by a white master mariner picked up on the waterfront. This was a Capt. Cook, who had no little fame

as a navigator of the romantic seas below the equator. Some months after I received quite a letter from Rey and a brief note from the captain. The supercargo related that Tanau was besieged for weeks, especially by the older people, to tell and repeat again and again the story of his great "time of being lost." All the acquaintances of Tanau had been certain that he would finally arrive in safety, as he was deemed a wise sailorman. The captain wrote formally that his owners were satisfied and that he could easily make the trip over again under the same circumstances if occasion required.

Chapter III of our Prof. W. D. Alexander's "Brief History of the Hawaiian People" is devoted to "ancient Hawaiian voyages," with "Second Period of Migration" as the first sub-heading. The following paragraphs are included in this paper as having a bearing upon the likelihood of such voyages as Tanau made with the "Tetautua":

"After the Hawaiian people had lived secluded from the rest of the world for many generations, intercourse between them and the Islands of the South Pacific seems to have been renewed, and many voyages to have been made, which have been celebrated in song and story.

"The most important emigration was that of Paa'o (a priest from Upolu in the Samoan Islands) and his followers. He is said to have left Upolu in consequence of a quarrel with his brother Lonopele, and to have sailed to Hawaii, where he became the high priest and built the great heiau of Mookini in Kohala. The office remained in his family down to the time of Hewahewa, who was the last high priest in the reign of Kamehameha I. It is said that he found the Island without a King on account of the crimes of Kapawa, the chief of Hawaii, and returning to Kahiki brought back with him a chief named Pili, whom he established as King and from whom the Kamehameha dynasty was descended.

"One of the most famous navigators of this period was

Kaulu-a-Kalana, of Oahu, who visited many foreign lands in company with Luhau-Kapawa, a famous navigator and astronomer of Southern birth. In the song of Kaulu it is claimed that he visited Vavan, Upolu, Kahiki and many other foreign lands.

"Another Oahu chief named Paumakuia was a famous navigator. He visited the Southern Islands and brought back with him several priests, who are described in the traditions as foreigners or 'haoles' of large stature, light complexion and bright saucy eyes, from whom several priestly families on Oahu claimed descent.

"In the next generation a famous chief named Moikeha, with his brother Olopana, his wife Luukia and their attendants, left Waipio and sailed to Kahiki, where they became chiefs of a district supposed to have been situated in Raiatea, one of the Society Islands. In this voyage Moikeha took with him as an adopted son a young chief named Laa. After a long residence in their new domain, a family quarrel arose, in consequence of which Moikeha resolved to return to his native land. Under the guidance of his astronomer and navigator Kamahualele, he set sail in a fleet of canoes with a goodly company of chiefs and retainers. When the mountains of Hawaii rose in sight the prophet chanted a song, in which Nuuhiwa, Bolabola and other Southern Islands are mentioned. After coasting along the shores of the principal Islands they landed at Wailua, Kauai, where the high chief Puna held his court. Here Moikeha married Puna's daughter and on Puna's death he became King of Kauai, where he spent the rest of his life. In his old age he sent his son, Kila, with a fleet of double canoes, under the guidance of his old astronomer, to bring back his foster son, Laa, to Kauai. They took their departure from the southern point of Hawaii, steering by the stars, and arrived safely at Kahiki. The young chief, generally known as Laa-mai-Kahiki, immediately returned to these Islands, accompanied by a fa-

mous sorcerer and prophet, Naula-a-Maihea, and a large train of attendants. He resided a long time at Kualoa and from his three sons were descended the high chiefs of Oahu and Kauai. After the death of his foster father he returned to Kahiki. A grandson of Moikeha, named Kahai, is said to have made a voyage to Kahiki and to have brought breadfruit trees from Upolu, in the Samoan group, which he planted at Kualoa, Oahu. In the following generation intercourse with the Southern groups ceased."

Kahiki, which was the name for Tahiti came to mean any foreign country. On Laa's return to Tahiti he embarked from a point on the west end of the Island of Kahoolawe, which is still named Ke-ala-i-Kahiki—the way to Tahiti.

Tahiti is the largest and southernmost of the Society group of Islands and belongs to the French. It has the typical barrier reef, inside which any ship afloat can be sailed. Tahiti, with all its prominence, is smaller than our Island of Oahu. It has a couple of peaks about 8,000 feet above sea level and the whole population lives in a circle of not more than a mile and a half from the beach. Papeete, the capital and chief town, is the metropolis for scores of small Islands distant as much as 500 and 600 miles. Penrhyn, first visited by traders in 1842, has but a mere handful of people. It is a flat-lying circle ten miles in diameter, with much lagoon. In former years there were many sailing vessels doing business with these Islands, but now the cream of the trade is taken by steamers from New Zealand. The wealth of these isles is in copra, mother-of-pearl and pearls. The waters abound in fish. On most of the small islands the food of the people consists of cocoanuts and fish. When there are no rains they drink coconut milk and brackish water. Like Mark Twain's Esquimo the commercial status of some of the head men in even quite recent years was determined by the number of metal fish-hooks they owned. Even on so small an island as Penrhyn there have been fearful tribal wars, but what has most reduced the pop-

ulation is the "black-birding" or kidnapping of men for labor in Australian cane fields or on Central American and Mexican coffee plantations. At first the natives eagerly took passage with the "blackbirders," but they soon learned the sad lesson. At this day the chief ambition of the denizens of the atolls is to visit Papeete in July of each year if possible to take part in the feasting incidental to the celebration of the fall of the Bastille. Even my friend Capt. B. F. Chapman of this city leaves in June next to reach Papeete via San Francisco by July 14 for the purpose of once more enjoying July 14 in a strange French village so far from France. Capt. Chapman, a New Yorker, having been in the South Seas since 1849, has retired, but still has some considerable interests "below the line." The Captain was at one time a factor in the sailing packets *Galilee*, *City of Papeete* and *Tropic Bird*, plying between San Francisco and Papeete and carrying the United States mails, now carried by the *Oceanic S. S. Mariposa*. Captain Chapman regrets the passing of the "windjammer", and declares that had he the choice again he would go into the South Seas for a career of pleasant and profitable life and adventures without number. The Captain said he knew of the voyage of the *Tetautua*, and in fact John Charles Rey, the supercargo, was a relative of his through the Dexter family. Had heard of Capt. Tanau, but did not know him. I asked Capt. Chapman, who is certainly qualified to pass an opinion of some weight in the premises, what he thought of Capt. Tanau's story. The reply was that early in the voyage the schooner was simply sailed about in hope of "fetching up" at some one of the numerous Islands likely to be sighted. As for the direct sailing to Hawaii, Capt. Chapman confined himself to the declaration or statement that some of the natives were splendid natural navigators.

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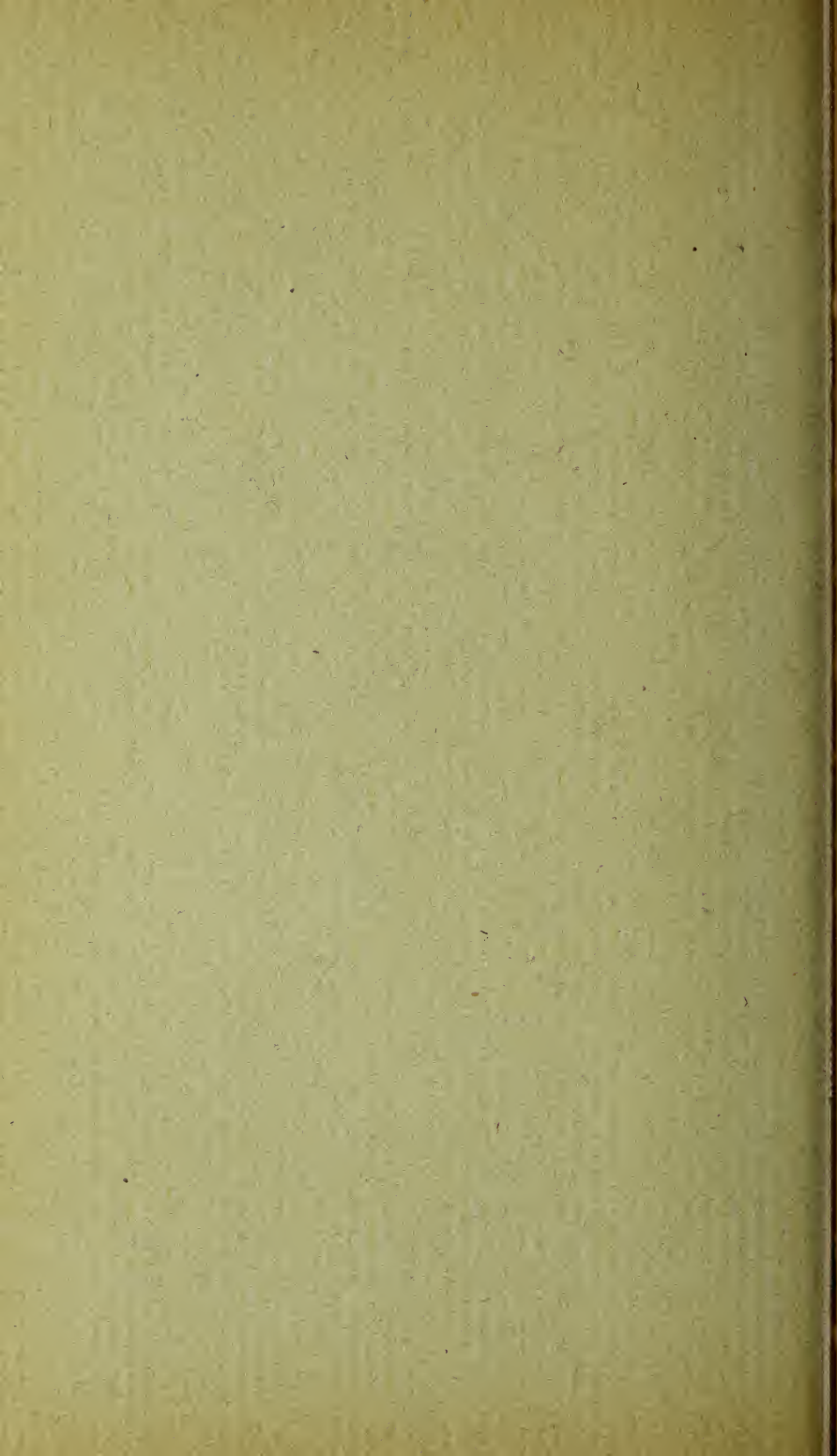
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Searle, J. C.	Smith, Henry	Stokes, John
Sedgwick, T. F.	Smith, Walter G.	Swanzy, F. M.
Towse, Ed	Thurston, L. A.	von Holt, H.
Thrum, T. G.	Terry, F. W.	
Wall, W. E.	Wichman, H. F.	Wood, Dr. C. B.

Weaver, P. L.	Wilcox, A. S.	Wood, Edgar
Westervelt, Rev. W. D.	Wilcox, G. N.	Wundenberg, F.
Whiting, W. A.	Williams, H. H.	
Whitney, Dr. J. M.	Wodehouse, E. H.	

*Deceased.

The names of members deceased are omitted from the list after one year.



THIRTEENTH
ANNUAL REPORT

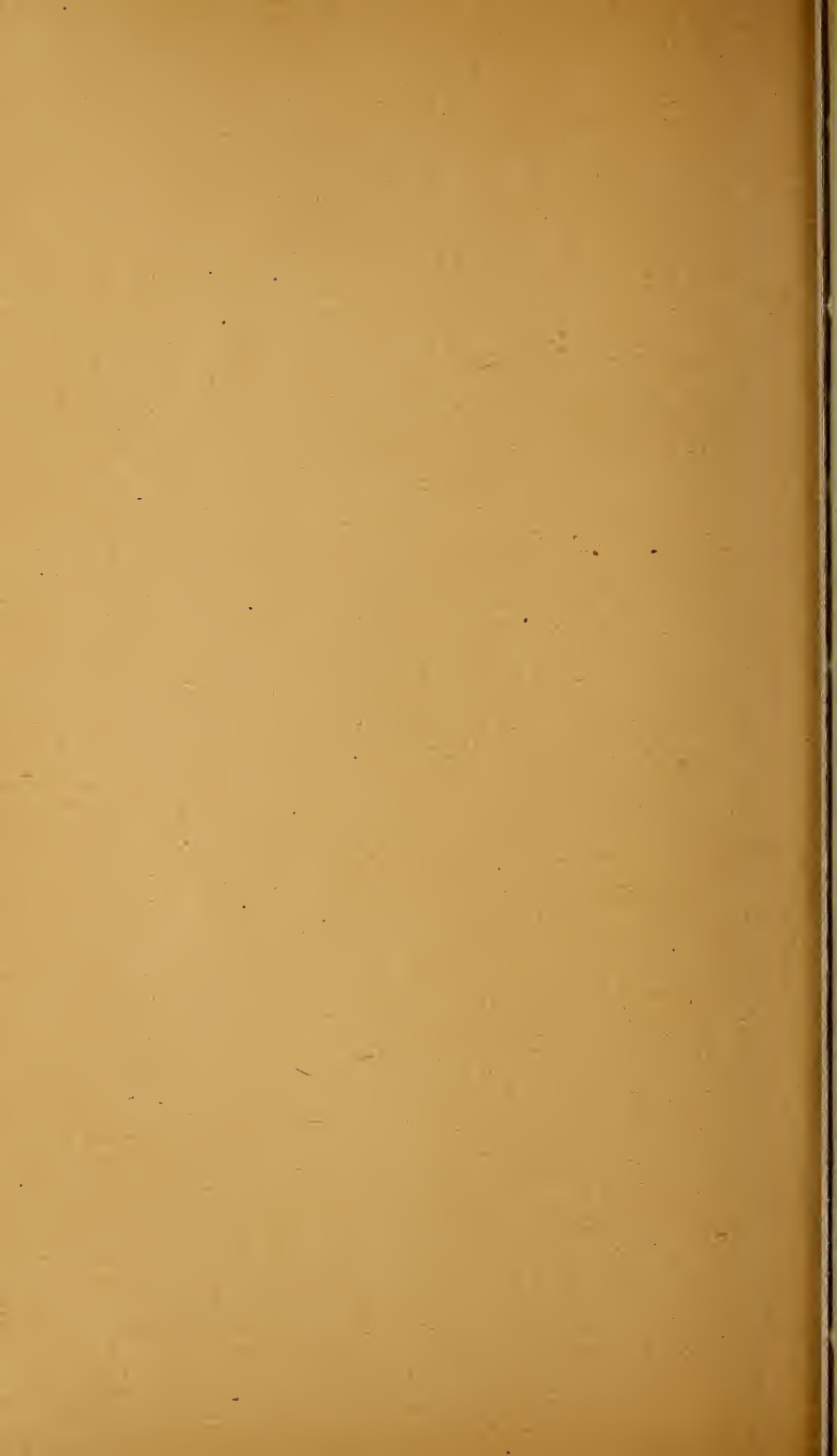
OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY



*WITH A PAPER ON THE DEVELOPEMENT OF
HAWAIIAN STATUTE LAW, BY CHIEF
JUSTICE W. F. FREAR.*

HONOLULU:
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE CO., LTD.
1906.



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JUSTICE W. F. FREAR.*

HONOLULU:

1906.

OFFICERS, 1906.

President.....	Prof. W. D. Alexander
First Vice-President.....	Rev. A. Mackintosh
Second Vice-President.....	Mr. J. S. Emerson
Third Vice-President.....	Hon. A. S. Hartwell
Recording Secretary.....	Hon. W. F. Frear
Corresponding Secretary.....	Mr. W. A. Bryan
Treasurer.....	Mr. W. W. Hall
Librarian.....	Miss Helen L. Hillebrand

MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING, HELD JANUARY 22, 1906.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in its Library room at 8 p. m., January 22, 1906, the President, Prof. W. D. Alexander, in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting and of the special meeting of July 13, 1905, was omitted, as those minutes had been published in the reports of the Society.

The following persons were elected to membership on the recommendation of the Board of Managers:

Corresponding members: Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, Mr. Howard M. Ballou.

Active members: Rev. W. E. Potwine, Miss Alice Shipman, Miss Pearl Wills, Mr. A. F. Griffiths, Mr. Perley Horne, Mr. A. Perry, Mr. D. L. Withington, Mr. M. F. Prosser, Mr. H. E. Highton.

The Board of Managers having recommended that the Society issue certificates of membership, the matter was referred to a committee, consisting of the president, treasurer and secretary, with power to act.

The reports of the corresponding secretary, treasurer and librarian were read and accepted and ordered published.

The following persons were re-elected officers for the coming year:

President.....	Prof. W. D. Alexander
First Vice-President.....	Rev. A. Mackintosh
Second Vice-President.....	Mr. J. S. Emerson
Third Vice-President.....	Hon. A. S. Hartwell
Recording Secretary.....	Hon. W. F. Frear
Corresponding Secretary.....	Mr. W. A. Bryan
Treasurer.....	Mr. W. W. Hall
Librarian.....	Miss Helen Hillebrand

Mr. W. F. Frear then read the paper of the evening on "Hawaiian Statute Law," which was requested for publication.

Remarks were made by Prof. W. D. Alexander and Dr. N. B. Emerson.

Mr. S. M. Ballou offered the Society for publication, in case the Congressional Library should not publish it, a complete up-to-date Hawaiian Bibliography, prepared during the last five years by his brother, Mr. Howard M. Ballou, of Boston. This offer was accepted by the Society. The meeting then adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1905.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH W. W.
HALL, TREASURER.

Receipts.

1904.			
Dec. 2	Balance of cash brought forward.....	\$	7.56
1905.	Dues from E. W. Heusinger, St. Antonio,		
	Texas		5.00
Jan. 3	6 months interest on McBryde Bonds.....		60.00
	Dues collected during the year.....		115.00
	Drawn from the Savings Bank Account...		30.00
	Received from sale of pamphlets.....		1.25
July 30	" interest on McBryde Bonds.....		60.00
Dec. 30	" " " " "		60.00
		\$	338.81

Disbursements.

1905.			
Dec. 30	Paid for postage.....	\$	3.85
	" for poison75
	" salary of Miss Helen Hillebrand, one		
	year (1904)		100.00
	" janitor for one year, 1905.....		21.00
	" for collecting dues, 1905.....		6.00
	" for two books.....		6.65
	" for Thrum's Annual, 1904.....		.75
	" for printing 12th Annual Report....		54.80
	" for printing notices.....		1.50
	" for stationery		2.75
	" for binding two volumes.....		3.50
	" for printing 500 copies of Paper No. 12		60.00

Deposited in Savings Bank.....	\$ 60.00
Balance to new Account.....	17.26

\$ 338.81

Balance on hand.....	\$ 17.26
----------------------	----------

Amount now in the Savings Bank.....	521.10
-------------------------------------	--------

Two McBryde Bonds drawing 6 per cent. interest...	2,000.00
---	----------

E. & O. Ex.

W. W. HALL, Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Officers and Members

of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN:—As your librarian, I have but a brief report to present you for the past year.

Two books only have been purchased. Some other old ones, which were on hand, seemed desirable to add to the collection.

The accessions have been as follows:

Thompson: "Diversions of a Prime Minister," 1904 (purchased).

Tregear: "The Maori Race," 1904 (purchased).

Andrews: Vocabulary of Words in the Hawaiian Language, 1836.

Boehr: "Die Hawaiischen Inseln."

Cleghorn, comp.: "Letters of Condolence and Resolutions Upon the Death of H. R. H. Likelike," 1887.

Hawaiian Club Papers, 1868.

Hawaiian Evangelical Association report, 2 vols., 1868-99.

Legendre: "O na Mole o ka Anahonua," 1843 (geometry).

Legislative Reports, 1851, 1886, 1888.

Meheula and Bolster: "Ka Moololo o Laieikawai."

Pigafetta: "Premier Voyage Autour du Monde," 1819-22.

Rosenberg: "Der Malayische Archipel," 1878.

The collection of Hawaiian books and pamphlets, presented to the library by Dr. Hyde, has been arranged and indexed, with the assistance of Miss Carrie Green in the translating. A list was also made of the miscellaneous papers in the drawers of the large book-case.

Reports and papers of the various institutions, with whom we exchange our own publications, have been received.

A number of volumes of the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute were given to the Department of Entomology in the Territorial Board of Agriculture, where they are of greater use, than they can be in this library.

Our membership at the present date numbers 109. There have been 4 new members, 3 withdrawn, 1 dropped for non-payment of dues, 1 removed from the Territory and 2 deaths.

Practically all the desirable pamphlet material has been sorted and indexed, so that I hope, during the coming year, to begin classifying and re-arranging the bound volumes of this library, an important work that has not yet been done.

Respectfully submitted,

HELEN L. HILLEBRAND,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOV. 28, 1905.

I am pleased to be able to report that there is unmistakable evidence of an awakened interest in historical matters in this community. While the year 1905 has been uneventful so far as the Society has been concerned the establishment of a public archives commission, consisting of the Secretary of the Territory, Mr. A. L. C. Atkinson, Dr. W. D. Alexander and Mr. A. F. Judd, who have placed Mr. Robert C. Lydecker in direct charge of the archives, together with the erection of the public archives building, (to be completed early in 1906,) make the year just ending the most satisfactory from a historical standpoint in the life of this organization. The mine of public documents, which have so long been stored and inaccessible, will now become live matter historically, and should furnish material for a large number of important papers that should be presented before this Society.

There are a number of collections of valuable documents relating to the early history of these Islands still stored in private homes. The danger of loss by fire or from other causes makes it important that such material should be transferred to the custody of this Society, or that of the public archives commission for safe-keeping until it can be preserved by that art preservative of all arts.

The Society has held but one special meeting during the year. This occurred on July 13th, 1905, and at that time three papers were presented, which have since been published as No. 12 of the papers of this Society. The contributions were, "The Reversal of the Hawaiian Flag," by Howard M. Ballou, of Boston; "Social and Political Changes in British Polynesia," by Dr. W. D. Alexander, and "A Kona Storm," by Hon. Gorham D. Gilman, of Boston. I would add in passing that the published papers and reports of this Society are being

more and more appreciated, both at home and abroad. Various societies and libraries are anxious to secure missing copies for their sets—some of which can no longer be furnished from the Society's duplicate files.

The Landmarks Committee have been at work collecting data relative to the points of historic interest about the group, and have now a considerable amount of important corroborative testimony, which it has been in many cases necessary to secure before some points could be definitely settled. It is believed that the general interest, which is everywhere manifest in this matter, will crystallize in such a way that the next legislature will see fit to provide funds to carry on the work, which has been so well begun, and cause suitable marks to be established at such places as the committee may recommend to be marked. The unveiling at Punahou on April 19th of the Bingham tablet, commemorating the gift of the Oahu College grounds in 1840, is of interest in this connection and sets for the Landmarks Committee a splendid precedent.

A number of contributions are now ready or in course of preparation to be read before the Society. Among these are papers by Dr. Alexander, Mr. Ballou, Mr. Lydecker and Mr. Thurston. The indications are that the year 1906 will see some good work done by members of the Society. Our New Zealand friends continue most active, and a large amount of valuable material is being published in the "Polynesian." A perusal of that journal will show our members some of the important things of similar character yet remaining to be done in Hawaiian history and mythology.

Dr. N. B. Emerson's paper on the "Unwritten Literature of the Hawaiians," has been having a final revision and its early publication is confidently expected. Dr. W. T. Brigham has a comprehensive memoir on "Hawaiian Mats and Baskets," almost through the Bishop Museum press. This is uniform with his previous memoirs on "Hawaiian Feather Work" and "Stone Work," and will carry with it a supplementary chapter on nets and netting, by Mr. J. F. G. Stokes. The Hawaiian Annual, which under the careful hand of Mr. T. G. Thrum

has long been the recognized book of accurate information about Hawaii, carries an unusual amount of historical matter in the 1906 edition. The author takes occasion in this, the thirty-second number, to give an index to the important articles which have appeared in the *Annals* up to this time. We note that over a hundred important articles on Hawaiian history and folk lore are there indexed. The present number has thirteen special articles on historical topics.

The rediscovery of the heiau of Kupopolo, in the neighborhood of Waialua, was of sufficient interest to the public to induce the Hawaii Promotion Committee to invite a representative committee of the Hawaiian Historical Society with others to visit the ruins, in the hope that some plan looking to its restoration might be hit upon. After careful inspection the committee made a full report, copies of which appeared in the daily papers at the time and which now form a part of this report.

Honolulu, T. H.,

Mr. E. M. Boyd,

Secretary, Hawaii Promotion Committee,

Honolulu, H. I.

Sir:—The committee from the Hawaiian Historical Society invited by you to visit the ancient heiau of Kupopolo, recently reported by Mr. T. G. Thrum, for the purpose of advising a course to be pursued in reference to the preservation or restoration of the same, respectfully report as follows:

Through the courtesy of Manager F. C. Smith of the Oahu Railway and Land Company a special train was provided for the accommodation of our party, personally conducted by both Mr. Boyd and Mr. Smith. The trip was made August 9th and some two hours were spent on the ground investigating the condition and peculiarities of the dilapidated structure.

As had been reported the heiau is near the line of the rail-

road and easy of access, being located beyond the Haleiwa Hotel, near the western point of Waimea, Oahu. It is above the average size, and the walls are in fair condition, considering their great age and exposed situation, and in themselves prove an object of deep interest. This ancient temple lies parallel with the shore line, northeast and southwest. Its front wall measures 266 feet in length and seemed originally to have been about ten feet high. The structure is divided into two separate enclosures, the northern one being 112x92 feet (inside measurements) and the adjoining southern one 150x110 feet; the two embracing an area of about four-sevenths of an acre. The front wall seems to be of double construction. A base some four feet high runs the entire length in front and extends around the northern end. Above and about three feet within this base rise the walls proper. Both of the enclosures are filled with stones, the outer portions being much disturbed while the central part is fairly well paved. In the rear of the large enclosure a terrace runs across, evidently once paved. The main part of this southern division contains several piles of stones which, as well as a walled enclosure about the middle of the wall at the southwest end may have much significance.

Unfortunately little was found on which to base a clear idea of the original plan of the heiau of Kupopolo, save the site of the priest's house at the inner corner of the northern enclosure. Other important features were sought for in vain. Nor were there found in either enclosure sufficient points of resemblance between this and other known heiaus to warrant a safe conjecture for a plan of complete or partial restoration.

The committee were impressed by the accessibility of Kupopolo. We believe that this fact taken in connection with the limited number of heiaus yet remaining on this island is sufficient to maintain it as a point of unfailing attraction to tourists and others interested in Hawaiian antiquities. We would urge the importance of preserving and marking this, as well as all similar points of interest in the Islands.

Since there is not available sufficient data on which to base

a plan of restoration, the committee is agreed as to the advisability of taking steps to repair the walls so as to prevent their further deterioration, and thus to prepare a way for future restoration or study when a better insight into Hawaiian temple structures of this class is to be had. We believe that a deeper historic interest ever prevails over well-kept ruins than can be maintained by restoration on false or misconceived lines. We would therefore recommend that steps be taken looking toward preservation rather than restoration, and that some suitable means of approach be constructed, and, if possible, means be provided to prevent ruthless intrusion.

DR. N. B. EMERSON,
Chairman of Committee.

Approved:

T. G. THRUM,
WM. A. BRYAN,
REV. SERENO BISHOP,
A. F. GRIFFITHS,
W. W. HALL.

One of the most interesting communications your secretary has received during the year is a letter from our president, Dr. W. D. Alexander, part of which is as follows:

"Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, Barrister, who acted as counsel for Mr. James Bicknell in the law suit over the possession of half of Fanning's Island and won his case, afterward bought Mr. Bicknell's interest in the same. While exploring his new estate, he unearthed the foundations of a stone building over a hundred feet in length; I forget the exact figures. It was oriented exactly east and west. The corners were peculiar. Instead of fitting blocks together at the corners, one large stone at each angle was cut out like a letter 'L.' Some of the stones would weigh ten tons apiece. The stone of course was coral or limestone.

"Not far from this building he discovered a tomb which he opened, and found various objects, which he brought with

him on his way to England and showed to Mr. Brigham and myself. Besides some human bones, there was a poi pounder (of gypsum I think) similar to one in the Museum from the Paumotu group, where stalactites of that material are found in caves, but more artistic; perforated porpoise teeth for ornaments, shell ornaments, and bones of a fowl and apparently those of a dog.

"When Fannings Island was discovered a century ago it was wholly uninhabited. The people now there are temporary residents, brought from Manihiki to gather copra. You can see from the map how isolated that island is. So there is another ocean mystery to be solved."

A valuable historical and ethnological find was made by Mr. D. Forbes and two companions on the island of Hawaii recently. While exploring a cave on the Hamakua side of the island a number of rare and unique specimens were secured, which we understand have been photographed. It is hoped that copies of the photographs may be had for examination at a future meeting.

In closing I would continue to urge the importance of a new bibliography for the Hawaiian Islands. The one published years ago by Mr. J. F. Hunnewell has long been out of print. The importance of getting on record every scrap of folk lore that is obtainable before it is too late has been repeatedly urged by my predecessor, and it is to be hoped that the new year will see this work taken up by our members.

WM. ALANSON BRYAN,
Corresponding Secretary.

HAWAIIAN STATUTE LAW.

Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society at its Annual Meeting, January 22, 1906.

BY W. F. FREAR.

In a paper¹ presented to this society twelve years ago, not long after the passage of the act to reorganize the judiciary department, I endeavored to trace the evolution of the Hawaiian judiciary. Now that these islands, after a century of remarkable political change and rapid legal growth, have reached a status that bids fair to endure for a considerable time, and now that the entire body of Hawaiian statute law has been consolidated and revised,² it seems an appropriate time to attempt to outline the development of Hawaiian legislation and the Hawaiian legislature. The central thought of this paper, as of the former paper, is that the present status has been attained by a process of growth. The fundamental causes of this development, as shown in that paper, have been the introduction of foreign peoples, ideas and customs, the gradual civilization and Christianization of the native race, and the general political, social and industrial progress of the country. Hawaii, indeed, furnishes the one conspicuous example of such a swift transformation by internal development through foreign influence as distinguished from a forced change superimposed from without.

EARLY PERIOD—BEFORE ADVENT OF FOREIGNERS.

Prior to the reign of Kamehameha the Great, which began in 1782, four years after the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook, the group was divided into a number of kingdoms, which, like those of early English history, were often at war

¹ Papers of Haw. His. Soc., No. 7.

² "Revised Laws of Hawaii," enacted Feb. 27, 1905.

with each other. The feudal system had become established, with the king as lord paramount, the chiefs as mesne lords and the common man as tenant paravail—sometimes as many as seven degrees in all. Each held of his immediate superior in return for military and other services, and each exercised all the functions of government indiscriminately, subject to his own superiors. The laws were mostly customary, many doubtless having their origin in the edicts of early kings, the majority of whom had been forgotten as law givers, but the names of the most famous of whom were handed down with the laws,—as in the case of Mailikukahi, king of Oahu, about five centuries ago.¹ General laws were thus enacted by the king, and subordinate laws in the nature of local ordinances for their respective jurisdictions by the successive grades of chiefs. The king consulted his counsellors, the high chiefs, a sort of witenagemot or embryo legislative body, to a greater or less extent according to the importance of the law contemplated, as he did also on other important matters, such as a question of declaring war. A council of chiefs was also usually held upon the death of a king to determine whether to approve the successor, if any, named in his will or elect another at the risk of war. The deliberations of the king in council were generally conducted in great secrecy and those who spoke did so in language that was highly figurative, beautiful and expressive.² The result was proclaimed by the king and published by heralds and messengers—hereditary and honorable officers—who took the messages to the chiefs of districts, by whom in turn they were passed on to inferior chiefs and by them to the masses. They were preserved in living statute books, namely, by a class whose business it was to memorize

¹ This king is said to have enacted laws against theft and rapine, with the death penalty; to have required first born male children to be turned over to the king to be brought up and educated; to have caused boundaries to be surveyed and marked; to have built temples and discountenanced human sacrifices, &c.,—with the result that thrift and prosperity prevailed and population increased. 2 Fornander, *Poly. Race*, 89.

² Wm. Richards, 25 *Miss. Herald*, 372; 4 *Ellis, Poly. Researches*, 116; *Jarves, Hist.*, 34.

and teach them and hand them down to succeeding generations. Although there was considerable law it was largely of an indefinite nature and all subject to much arbitrariness in its administration; and although there was an organized system of government it was aristocratic and the welfare of the lower orders was little considered. The largest and most oppressive body of laws consisted of the taboos, which were imposed partly for religious and partly for political purposes, the religious and political systems being closely interwoven. Most important were the laws of real property, upon which the political system was based, including the laws of tenure, taxation, fishing rights and water rights, the last named being so important as to give their name, *kanawai*, to law in general. There were laws also relating to personal security, personal property, domestic relations and barter. The criminal laws were directed chiefly against murder, robbery, theft, adultery and breaches of etiquette toward superiors. Owing to the number, power and rapacity of the mesne chiefs, taxation and graft were such that scarcely a third of a common man's product remained to him and he could not count on retaining that. There was no encouragement to industry, as both the tenure of land and the security of personal property were uncertain. There were courts, both civil, held by the king and chiefs, and ecclesiastical, held by the priests, but they were of a rude nature, subject to favoritism, and the penalties imposed were discretionary as to both character and amount. Punishments were of great variety and sometimes of extreme cruelty. There were some restraints, however, upon the power of the king and the chiefs. Public sentiment compelled to a remarkable extent observance of the customary laws. The "wise men" counselled moderation and prophesied judgment in case their instructions were not regarded. The laws, moreover, recognized the rights of recaption and retaliation. There was also a right of appeal to a higher chief or the king, and finally

the right of leaving one chief for another,—for the common people were not bound to the soil.¹

KAMEHAMEHA'S REIGN—BEGINNING OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE—1782-1819.

Kamehameha I gained the supremacy and united the group under one government.² Like several of the early English conquerors, he divided the country into four earldoms, so to speak, corresponding in the main with the ancient kingdoms, and appointed governors over them. These were in the nature of viceroys, with legislative and other powers almost as extensive as those of the kings whose places they took. He raised his favorite queen, Kaahumanu, to the position of a premier or chief justiciary and placed in her hands "life and death, condemnation and acquittal," and by his will continued her in that office under his son and successor, Liholiho or Kamehameha II, whom also he appointed by will. This office of *kuhina nui*, as it was called, was one of power almost equal to that of the king, for its occupant had a veto power over the important acts of the king, and thus the two stood to each other somewhat in the relation of Roman consuls, although the king was always regarded as the superior.³ He selected four high chiefs as special counsellors, a sort of cabinet, or privy council, and also four "wise men" as lawyers and assistants,⁴

¹ See, in general, "Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary," by the writer, *Haw. His. Soc. Papers*, No. 7, pp. 1-6; 4 Ellis, *Poly. Researches*, 305 et seq.; Jarves, *Hist.*, 31 et seq.; manuscript, of March 15, 1841, *Public Archives*, prepared by Wm. Richards for Commodore Wilkes.

² He began as king of one-half of Hawaii; by 1795 he had conquered all the islands except Kauai and Niihau, which were ceded to him in 1810.

³ It is commonly supposed that this office was created by Kamehameha I, because of the weakness of his son and successor, when at his death he announced his will: "The kingdom is Liholiho's and Kaahumanu is his minister," but apparently the office was already in existence. See *Const. of 1840*, Blue Book, p. 13; Appendix to Second Supp. to *Inves. of Mr. Charlton's Land Claim*, pamphlet, 1847, p. 36; Dibble, *Sandwich Is.*, 227 et seq. Its importance was doubtless greater after Kamehameha's death than before. It was abolished by the constitution of 1864.

⁴ The counsellors were Keeaumoku, Keaweheulu, Kameeiamoku and Kamanawa; the wise men were Kai, Kapaloa, Kaaloa and Kauakahiaka-haola. 2 *Haw. Spec.* 222, 225.

and consulted much with his able and faithful chief executive officer² and several trusted white men,³ who had long resided in the islands. On more important occasions he summoned the governors and high chiefs from all the islands to a national council. He put an end to wars, erected a strong central government, checked the oppression of the lesser chiefs, appointed officers more for merit than rank, improved the laws, made them more uniform, rigidly enforced them, and generally brought about a condition of comparative peace and security. He was particular to publish the laws throughout the group and set the good example of living up to them himself. His more important laws were directed against murder, robbery, theft, extortion and confiscation. The most famous was that called the *mamalahoa*, to the effect that the aged, men and women, and little children might lie by the roadside and not be molested.⁴ He also made laws imposing harbor charges on foreign vessels other than public vessels. During his reign many foreign vessels⁵ touched at the islands, and as a result of the influences, good and evil, but principally evil, from contact with the visitors, the Hawaiians lost respect for their idolatrous religion and oppressive taboo system,⁶ and about six months after his death, which occurred on May 8, 1819,

² Kalaimoku or Kalanimoku, called the Iron Cable of the country; died Feb. 8, 1827.

³ Particularly John Young, Isaac Davis and Don Marin. Bingham, Sandwich Is., 51.

⁴ This law, like most other early laws, did not define the penalty for its violation. It was a stringent law and the penalties were severe. For its origin, see N. B. Emerson, Paper in Tenth An. Rep., Haw. Hist. Soc., p. 26; Hopkins, in Thrum's An., 1906, p. 81. Other laws of Kamehameha I were known as the *papa* and *Waiohuhukini* or *Waioahukini*.

⁵ The first after Capt. Cook's death in 1779 arrived in 1786.

⁶ Not that they looked for something higher, but that they desired relief from the exactions of the taboo system, and mustered courage to abolish that when they lost respect for the religious system which was its supernatural support. The chiefs, of course, were the principal actors, though the people, like them, had become much prepared for the change.

this was abolished by law, not, however, without a bloody battle. This was one of the most important statutes ever enacted in Hawaii. Not only did it open the way for the introduction of Christianity and civilization generally, but by the divorce of the political and religious systems, one of the greatest obstacles to the growth of a young nation was avoided.

CRUCIAL PERIOD—FROM ARRIVAL OF MISSIONARIES TO FIRST CONSTITUTION—1820-1840.

The first company of missionaries arrived from New England in April, 1820, the year after the death of Kamehameha and the abolition of the religious and taboo systems. Many other companies followed. Other foreign residents were slowly and foreign visitors rapidly increasing in number. Although there were many exceptions, a large proportion of these foreigners were of the class, so numerous in those days throughout the Pacific, who lived up to the motto that "there was no God this side of Cape Horn."³ The next twenty years were to decide which of these elements was to win in its influence upon the natives. There were these differences in their methods. Although foreigners other than missionaries, both residents and visitors, both the better and the worse classes, were not backward in advising the chiefs in matters of government, the worse element took more active measures in the form of threats and armed attacks against the enactment and enforcement of salutary laws, while the missionaries, acting under strict instructions from the board which sent them out, went, as remarked by disinterested observers at the time, to the opposite extreme and as a rule declined so much as to give advice in political affairs, even when asked for it by the chiefs. But many of the chiefs, like the great Kamehameha himself,

³ See W. D. Alexander, *Hist.*, 193. "Civilized man turned savage is more dangerous than the savage born, and their presence in heathen lands is a greater obstacle to Christianity than heathenism itself." J. M. Alexander, *Mission Life in Hawaii*, 83.

were men and women of discernment and strength¹ and were not easily deceived or daunted by designing or threatening adventurers.

The missionaries had learned the language, completed the alphabet and begun printing the spelling book by the first Monday of January, 1822; by 1825 they were printing nearly 1,500,000 pages a year; by 1830, 5,000,000 a year, and two presses were then inadequate to supply the demand; in 1837, they printed nearly 18,000,000 pages; by 1840, they had three presses at work and had printed in all 100,000,000 pages, covering perhaps 50 different works. In 1834 two newspapers were published in the Hawaiian language. They established schools, and by 1826 had 25,000 scholars, mostly adults, or one-sixth of the population. In 1831 they founded a higher institution of learning at Lahainaluna for the training of teachers and religious assistants, the graduates of which were destined during the next ten years to exercise a powerful influence, through their newspapers and otherwise, upon public sentiment in favor of popular rights and improved laws and to take a prominent part in drafting such laws. In 1832 there were 900 schools with as many native teachers, and 53,000 scholars. Probably no other people has ever evinced so ardent a desire for learning.² Churches were established, which were attended by thousands, and Christianity soon came to be regarded in a

¹ They were not only of strong character; they were large physically; several of the female chiefs were over six feet tall and one male was six feet six inches; a number, males and females, weighed over three hundred pounds each.

² The result evoked much admiration in America. Chancellor Kent wrote at the time in a note to his commentaries, vol. 2, p. 199: "The rapid transformation of the natives of those islands from being savages and heathens in 1820, to, in 1830, a civilized and Christian people, is very remarkable, and reflects honor, not only on the mild and teachable disposition of the natives, but also on the diligence, discretion, fidelity, and zeal with which the missionaries have devoted themselves to fulfill the purposes of their trust." Special boarding schools were established in various places, the curriculums of which included more or less industrial training.

general way as practically the national but of course not the state religion, although little interest was taken in it as a personal matter until, beginning quietly in 1829, when there were 185 church members, of whom 117 were admitted in that year, it slowly but steadily warmed until it finally burst forth in the "Great Revival" of a decade later, which took into the church a fifth of the population.¹

It is not strange that under the influence of their new learning and religion the chiefs grew more humane toward their dependents and more observant of their rights, and that the common people began to learn that they had rights. Accordingly, the customary law, which still constituted the bulk of the law, gradually but rapidly sloughed off much of its old barbarity and absorbed the principles of the Bible and of foreign laws as far as they were known.

Most of the chiefs and the more intelligent common people soon began to realize also that, if they were to progress and maintain themselves as a nation in contact with the superior white races, they must have laws that were more definite and more enlightened. The weakness of the king, his later departure to England, where he died, and the long minority of his successor, favored the growth in power of the council of chiefs. All three functions of government were still exercised indiscriminately by king, governors and chiefs, acting singly or together. Thus, there were trials by the *aula regis*, the privy

¹ See, in general, Miss. Her., particularly vols. 18-37; Report to Legislature by Wm. Richards, Sup't. of Pub. Instruction, Aug. 1, 1846; Anderson, Haw. Is., pp. 88, 254, 259. The greatest interest in education and religion was taken by the most influential natives, namely, the chiefs, of whom many could read and write by the end of 1822, the year in which printing began. In 1824 they gave orders to establish schools throughout the islands, and thereafter the schools were largely under their patronage and supported mainly by the government. Of the ten persons who joined the church in 1826, nine were chiefs. The total church membership in 1837 was only 1259; in 1840 it was about 18,000. By 1846, 70,000 persons or about 80 per cent. of the then population, could read. The New Testament was completed in 1832 and the Old in 1839.

council or its judicial committee, the house of lords, and the baronial courts, as it were. The chiefs constituted also a sort of cabinet or privy council and as such were often summoned in greater or less numbers on important occasions for purposes other than the enactment of laws, as, for instance, to pass upon a treaty or an appointment of a king, a regent or a premier.¹

More salutary statutes began to be made—especially after the regent, Kaahumanu's, conversion early in 1825. These were mostly oral at first. The oral law abolishing idolatry and the taboo system has already been referred to as made shortly before the arrival of the missionaries. Among subsequent oral laws were the following:

In 1825, on the advice of Lord Byron, who brought the bodies of the king and queen from England, trial by jury in capital cases was adopted, and the execution of the death penalty, which had previously been by assassination,—generally by stoning, clubbing or strangling the victim, or, after the introduction of edged tools, by beheading him, from behind or when he was asleep—was changed to hanging. Such methods of trial and execution were observed thereafter in all

¹ They met thus when, in 1819, they confirmed Kamehameha I's appointment of his successor and the premier, Kaahumanu; and when, in 1823, they confirmed Kamehameha II's appointment of Kaahumanu as regent during his visit to England; and when, in 1825, they confirmed his appointment of his successor, Keaukeaouli or Kamehameha III, and continued the said regent in office during the king's minority; and when, in 1826, they ratified the first treaty with the United States; and when, a little later, they met to try charges which the hostile whites made against the missionaries but which collapsed, and when, the following year, they met to try charges against the missionary Richards and decided to protect him when threats were made against his life by certain foreigners; and when, in 1832, they confirmed the appointment of Kaahumanu's successor, Kinau; and when, in 1833, the king assumed the full powers of his office and appointed Kinau premier. Some early writers refer to Kalaimoku either as sole regent or as a joint regent with Kaahumanu, but he was neither.

capital cases.¹ It may be noted here that punishment by mutilation, such as scooping out the eyes or breaking the legs, as well as human sacrifices, had already ceased.

As one result of intercourse with foreigners, drunkenness had become almost universal among the Hawaiians. But about the year 1825 the traffic and use of intoxicating liquors was prohibited to them, and by 1826, such drunkenness had greatly decreased, and by 1829 there was almost none.

The Christian form of marriage had been solemnized as early as August 11, 1822, and was regarded as in a sense officially recognized when it was observed by Governor Hoapili, of Maui, in October, 1823, but for several years his example was little followed. In 1826, however, the chiefs of that island and in 1827 those of one of the districts of the island of Hawaii made it obligatory. Offenders against these laws were required to work on the public roads. Finally Kaahumanu made a general law against bigamy and desertion, confirmed marriages already entered into according to former customs, and required the Christian form of marriage in the future, and by 1829 that form had become general.²

The laws against licentiousness, particularly that of 1825 prohibiting females from visiting vessels in port, were the ones that caused the greatest storm of opposition from foreigners during the '20s. Many vigorous protests and threats were made in order to secure the repeal of these laws, and on a number of occasions in 1825, 1826 and 1827, the officers and crews of visiting vessels went to the length of making armed attacks on the houses of some of the missionaries³ and natives

¹ From that time to the end of the period now in question, that is, 15 years, there were 3 executions for murder on Kauai, 7 on Oahu, 2 on Maui and 1 on Hawaii. See Manuscript of Mch. 15, 1841, *supra*.

² See Bingham, *Sandwich Is.*, 166; 25 *Miss. Her.*, 53; 26 *Id.* 312; *Blue Book*, 71; *Dibble, Sandwich Is.*, 240.

³ Richards and Bingham, to whose influence these laws were attributed by such foreigners. See Alexander, *Hist.*, 194-199, for accounts of these attacks.

and once on the house of the prime minister, Kalaimoku. Once they bombarded the town of Lahaina.

In 1825 a council of the chiefs was called for the purpose of enacting laws in harmony with the ten commandments, which had already been published; but the meeting was broken up by foreign intruders aided perhaps by the reactionaries among the chiefs.¹

The following is one of the earliest as well as most comprehensive of the oral statutes of this period and the description of its enactment is given in full as the most definite that we have. It is by Mr. Richards,² who was probably an eye-witness:

"On the 22nd of June, 1824, Kaahumanu published several laws at Lahaina in the manner and form following:

"While there were a thousand people within hearing, she called the head men of the several districts on the island, and ordered them to publish by a herald, the following laws:

"'1st. There shall be no murder.'

"Here she spoke at large respecting the practice of infanticide, which is still very prevalent here. She said that this was specially included in her prohibition of murder.

"'2dly. There shall be no theft of any description.'

"'3dly. There shall be no boxing or fighting, among the people.'

"'4thly. There shall be no work or play on the Sabbath, but this day shall be regarded as the sacred day of Jehovah.'

"'5thly. When schools are established, all of the people shall learn the *palapala*.'" It will be noticed that the penalties were still left discretionary as to both character and amount. The fifth chapter of this code was the first school law. It made

¹ Dibble, Sandwich Is., 239, implies that the commandments were enacted as law, but that apparently was not the case—as shown by subsequent acts and statements of the chiefs and by statements of other writers. See, e. g., Bingham, Sandwich Is., 282; 2 Stewart, Visit to South Seas, 149; 23 Miss. Her., 203; Refutation of charges against Am. Miss., pamphlet, 1841, p. 10.

² 22 Miss. Her., 240.

attendance compulsory, when there were school accommodations, and applied to adults as well as children.¹

We come now to the written statutes. The first of these was a law of June 2, 1825, signed by the prime minister, Kailaimoku, in regard to the entry and clearance of vessels, the desertion of seamen, and harbor and pilot dues at the port of Honolulu.² Other laws of a somewhat similar general character were one of June 4, 1831, by the king and Governor Kuaikini for the port of Hilo, one of November 5, 1833, by Governor Nahienaena for the Lahaina market, one of October 14, 1834, by the king for the port of Honolulu, and one of August 1, 1836, by Kinau, Auhea and Paki in the form of an order to the pilot at Honolulu designed to prevent the introduction of smallpox.

The opposition to the oral laws of 1825 had been shared in by the British and American consuls, who, among other things, threatened the king, and endeavored to persuade him that the regent and chiefs had no authority to make any laws, and that

¹ As shown in note above, the pupils were mostly adults for some years after this. The chiefs had already ordered the establishment of schools. See note *supra*.

² It is often stated that the first printed laws were enacted in 1833, probably because that is the earliest date borne by any law in the compilation of 1842, known as the Blue Book; it is sometimes stated that the first printed laws were those of 1827, and they were the first of a general nature. The only evidence tending to show that there were earlier printed laws than this of 1825 is a statement by Mr. Richards in his preface to the Blue Book that some of the laws in that book were enacted as far back as 1833, and "others had their origin as early as 1823," but either this last was a mistake on his part or a typographical error, or else, which is probably the case, it referred to oral laws, for the same writer in his report as Minister of Public Instruction to the legislature, on Aug. 1, 1846, says: "The first law ever promulgated by the press in the Hawaiian language related to the harbor of Honolulu and was printed in 1825"; in the first manuscript draft of this report, in the Public Archives, he says "in June, 1825." It was common at that time to refer to oral laws as "laws" or even "published laws," and at page 71 of the Blue Book, there is what was apparently an early oral law. Nearly all of the written laws prior to 1840 referred to here have recently been found in the Public Archives.

even the king himself could not make laws applicable to foreigners. The king himself then, in 1827, with the concurrence of the regent and chiefs, courageously published the following, which is the second written law and the first of a general nature, and which is, indeed, like Kaahumanu's oral law of 1824, a little penal code:

"Proclamation of the law.

"We proclaim these laws to all people of foreign lands and of this land. Hear ye all and keep and obey them, both foreigners and natives.

"I.

"We forbid murder. Let no foreigner or native commit murder here. Whoever shall be guilty of murder shall die.

"II.

"We forbid theft. Whoever steals shall be put in irons.

"III.

"We forbid fornication. Whoever is guilty shall be put in irons.

"IV.

"We forbid the selling of rum here. Whoever shall sell rum shall be imprisoned.

"V.

"We forbid prostitution. Whoever shall commit fornication shall be fined.

"VI.

"We forbid gambling. Whoever gambles shall be impris-

oned. Oahu, Honolulu, December 8, 1827. King Kauikeao-uli."¹

It will be noticed that in this code the nature of the punishments was prescribed but that the amount was still left discretionary.

The British consul, Charlton, who was at the head of the disturbing foreign faction, then claimed that the islands had been ceded to his government² and that the king could not enact laws without the concurrence of Great Britain, and threatened

¹ Although these six laws were thus put in writing, signed by the king and printed, they were really enacted by the king and chiefs and proclaimed orally like other previous laws. It was this way: When the first three of these laws had been decided upon, a general assembly was called, which was attended by the king, regent, chiefs and a great concourse of common people, including some foreigners. This was under a grove of cocoanut trees near the sea. Mr. Bingham had been asked to attend and open the exercises with prayer if he did not fear harm from the hostile foreigners, and had replied that he would do his duty even if they burned him for it. He was given a chair by Gov. Boki, and a little later, when the regent handed him a hymn book, he sung a hymn, offered a prayer and withdrew. The king and regent then each addressed the chiefs and people and foreigners, proclaimed the first three of these laws and called on all to hear and obey them. Notice was also given of other proposed laws, which were not to be put in force until the people had been further educated up to them. After adjournment, the missionaries were requested to print on handbills these three laws and the other three, which apparently had been proclaimed on a previous occasion. See 24 Miss. Her., 209. It may be noted here that during this period the king and chiefs generally endeavored to have the people instructed in regard to the subject matter of laws before enacting them, and in some instances the laws were at first more in the nature of advice than strict laws. Even as late as 1838, notice was given in advance of proposed laws. See note *infra* on liquor laws.

² This claim was based on an alleged session by Kamehameha I to Captain Vancouver on Feb. 25, 1794. The king and Vancouver apparently misunderstood each other—speaking through an interpreter. The former and his chiefs meant to obtain some protection and aid but not to make a cession. Even on Vancouver's understanding, the negotiations related only to the Island of Hawaii and the agreement was never ratified or acted on by the British government. Charlton's commission as consul to a foreign state refuted his claim.

the vengeance of his country if the king did so. The king and chiefs, however, again displayed their courage by publishing, on September 21, 1829, a law in regard to fornication, adultery and marriage, which of course aroused further opposition. Among the penalties for a breach of this law was a fine of \$200 for first, second and third offenses and forfeiture of lands for a fourth offense in the case of a chief and only a fine of \$15 in other cases—indicating that persons of rank, intelligence and wealth were no longer to be subjects of favoritism, but on the contrary that higher standards were to be required of them.

A little later an incident occurred which gave the king an occasion for taking a most important step. A cow belonging to a foreigner was killed by a native when trespassing on the latter's land. Two foreigners at once proceeded armed and on horseback to the native's house, seized him, pinioned his arms, put a rope about his neck and dragged him through the streets. The British consul and others thereupon, overlooking the action of the foreigners, represented to the king that if the natives dared to kill a cow they might kill a person and that, therefore, their lives and property were in danger, and demanded protection and an immediate reply that it might be sent to the British government. The king in response issued a proclamation, dated October 7, 1829, in which he diplomatically granted the request for protection and then boldly stated that the laws of this country "prohibit murder, theft, adultery, fornication, retailing ardent spirits at houses for selling spirits, amusements on the Sabbath day, gambling and betting on the Sabbath day and at all times," also that the laws required Christian marriage, and that these laws would be enforced against foreigners the same as against natives. He then showed the lawlessness of the foreigners in taking the law into their own hands and not following the usual course for obtaining protection or redress, and their unfairness in killing animals of natives without giving notices against trespassing, and at the same time allowing their own animals to trespass on the lands of natives after the latter had given such notices.

The position of the king and chiefs was greatly strengthened a week later by the fortunate arrival of the United States sloop of war "Vincennes," Captain Finch, with gifts and a message from the President recognizing the authority of the regent and expressing the view that foreigners were bound to obey the laws. This proclamation was regarded as marking the final and unequivocal stand taken by the king and chiefs for the right to make and enforce laws applicable to all within their territory. It is significant to us for another reason also, for it contained the first written declaration of the composition of the council of chiefs, which was later to be called as it was already in fact the House of Nobles, and it was therefore the first step towards reducing the unwritten to the written constitution. It named the king and regent and ten chiefs as entitled to sit in the council.¹

On July 5, 1832, Kinau, who took the title of Kaahumanu II, proclaimed her succession to Kaahumanu I, who had just died, and, among other things, that "according to law shall be the dispossession of land,"—the first official written recognition of the growing security of land tenures.²

Among the laws in the '30s that created friction with foreigners were those in regard to intoxicating liquors. On

¹ For accounts of the cow incident, see 2 Stewart, *Visit to South Seas*, p. 150; Bingham, *Sandwich Is.*, 350; a copy of the proclamation is also set forth in each of these works except that in the latter the preliminary statement in regard to the council of chiefs, is omitted, which reads as follows: "These are the names of the king of the islands, and the chiefs in council: Kauikeaouli, the king, Kaahumanu, Gov. Boki, Gov. Adams Kuakini, Manuia, Kekuanaoa, Hinau, Aikanaka, Paki, Kinau, John Ii, James Kahuhu." It seems that these all signed this statement, (App. to Second Supp., &c., *supra*, p. 11) which was apparently intended as a definite and authoritative declaration to foreigners of the composition of the legislative body and council of state.

² The king issued a proclamation at the same time, announcing Kinau's succession and that "we two who had been too young and unacquainted with the actual transaction of business now for the first time undertake distinctly to regulate our kingdom." Other statements in these proclamations are regarded as showing with other evidence that Kinau was appointed Kaahumanu's successor by Kamehameha I.

March 25, 1833, a law was enacted requiring licenses for the retailing of spirituous liquors; in 1835, a law prohibiting drunkenness; on March 20, 1838, a further law on retailing spirituous liquors; and on August 21, 1838, a law prohibiting the importation of spirituous liquors and imposing duties on wines.² This last is the first law with a formal enacting clause—"Be it enacted by the King and Chiefs of the Hawaiian Islands, in council assembled;"—thus clearing recognizing the existence of a distinctly legislative body. Previously, when the chiefs were mentioned in a law signed by the king it was by some such expression in the body of the law as "I with my chiefs."

On May 9, 1839, a law was passed respecting times for paying duties; and on May 29, a law relating to quarantine, health officers, and a board of health for each harbor, and a law relating to insignia of office, forbidding the use of the golden ribbon on the hat and the Kamehameha button except by certain persons.

The most important law after those of 1827 and 1829, and which may be considered the first penal code at all worthy of the name was that of 1834, published in a pamphlet of 15 octavo pages.¹ This was in five divisions or chapters, which treated of murder, theft, unlawful sexual intercourse, fraud, and drunkenness respectively. Each division was signed by

² The law of March 20, 1838, was printed in 1 Haw. Spec. 335, with a statement that under it only two houses were given licenses instead of twelve or fourteen as had been the case under the earlier law; the law of Aug. 21, 1838, was printed in Id., p. 390; it was enacted at Lahaina, and seven days later the premier added at Honolulu the following: "Foreign consuls, philanthropists, and all friends of order, are respectfully requested to lend their aid to enforce the above wholesome and important regulations." On March 13, 1838, the king had given notice that at the expiration of the existing licenses, which were for six months at a fee of \$40, he would reduce the grog shops to two in number, and the premier at Waikiki two days later added that they were devising a law for regulating the two houses and that it would be printed when fully decided on.

¹ Copies of this are very rare. This society owns one.

the king. Definite and alternative penalties were prescribed, and degrees and matters of aggravation and principals and accessories were recognized and the penalties graded accordingly. The division on sexual intercourse, besides covering adultery, bigamy, rape, prostitution and letting houses for prostitution, provided for a certificate of divorce on the ground of adultery or cruelty and that the offender should not remarry until the death of the other party. The divisions respecting murder and drunkenness were enacted with amendments as separate laws the next year, and the year preceding a law had been enacted prohibiting the carrying and use of dangerous weapons on shore by persons belonging to visiting ships.¹

The laws that caused the greatest difficulties during the '30s were those against the Roman Catholics, who first arrived July 7, 1827. On August 18, 1829, attendance at their worship was forbidden to the natives; on April 2, 1831, Kaahumanu ordered the priests to leave the country, which they did December 24, 1831; on April 17, 1837, they returned, and on April 29 the king issued an order confirming that of Kaahumanu; others arrived on November 2 of the same year and on December 18 the king and chiefs enacted a law prohibiting the teaching of that religion and forbidding the landing of such teachers. A number of native Catholics were punished. All this gave rise to many difficulties, in which the captains of various war vessels took part. Finally on the advice of the missionaries, particularly Richards and Bingham, who had at various times protested against such persecution, as well as on the protests and advice of others, the Edict of Toleration of

¹ See Blue Book, pp. 156, 159, 162.

June 17, 1839, was issued.² The king and chiefs attempted to justify their action partly on the ground that the Catholics, unlike the Protestants, had not first obtained permission to land and teach—a point upon which they were rather particular; partly on their belief that the Catholics had been implicated with the British consul, Governor Boki and others in certain conspiracies against the government; and partly because of their belief that the new religion was in violation of the law of 1819 abolishing the old religions and taboo system—the use of the crucifix, the veneration of relics of the saints and the fasts being regarded by them as similar to the ancient worship of images and dead men's bones and the taboos on meat, which had been prohibited by that law. They naturally found it difficult from past habits of thought to disassociate political and religious ideas, and experience had demonstrated the danger to which the government was exposed from those who desired to return to the ancient order of things; for in 1824, there was a formidable insurrection on Kauai with that end in view; in 1829, there was an armed conspiracy against the regent, Kaahumanu, headed by Governor Boki, who had had the personal care of the king, and again in 1831, after his death, by Liliha, Boki's wife, both of which were headed off; and in 1833, when the king on arriving at the age of twenty

² Although regarded as of great importance and referred to by many writers of that time, I have found no evidence that it was written. There is some negative evidence tending to show that it was not written. Slightly different statements are made as to its substance, which seems to have been that thereafter no force but only moral suasion should be used against the Catholics. It was issued at Lahaina. Mr. Bingham, in Honolulu, hearing, about that time, that certain persons were being persecuted, addressed a note to the premier, Kekauluohi, who had succeeded Kaahumanu II ten days before and was sometimes called Kaahumanu III, asking if such were the case, and received the following reply, dated June 18: "I have seen your letter. We have exercised that oppression. But it is brought to an end. Henceforth, it will, doubtless, be the rule to admonish." Bingham, Sandwich Is., 535. Kekauluohi took the premiership for the infant Victoria Kamamalu, who was naturally next in the line of succession and who was to take the title Kaahumanu III.

formally assumed full possession of his office, Liliha came near inducing him to put her in Kinau's place as premier. On the arrival of the French frigate "Artemise," Captain Laplace, the month after the Edict of Toleration, the government was required at the mouth of the cannon to comply with certain unjust demands based on its treatment of the Catholics.

The king and chiefs, feeling that political progress should be faster than they could effect without further instruction, wrote to the United States in 1836 for a teacher of the science of government just as they already had teachers of religion and general knowledge.¹ Meeting no success in this direction, they repeatedly requested the missionaries for such instruction until finally in 1839 Mr. Richards was detached from the mission for that purpose. He delivered a course of lectures on this subject and continued afterwards in the service of the government. To these lectures the issuance of the Edict of Toleration, already referred to, was largely due. But ten days earlier, June 7, 1839, a still more important act was proclaimed. It was nothing less than the first constitution and first civil code. It was published in a pamphlet of 24 duodecimo pages.² It is customary to speak of the first part of this as the "Declaration of Rights," and of the constitution of 1840 as the first

¹ This letter also requested as teachers, a carpenter, tailor, mason, shoemaker, wheelwright, paper maker, type-founder, agriculturists, cloth manufacturers, and makers of machinery, and was signed by the king, the premier and thirteen chiefs. It is set out in Anderson, Haw. Is., 76; Bingham, Sandwich Is., 496.

² Entitled "He kumu kanawai, a me ke kanawai hooponopono waiwai, no ko Hawaii nei pae aina." A second edition was published in 1840. This may have been with amendments (but probably not), for it contains, besides the declaration of rights, 13 sections and 7 minor divisions, while that of 1839, which the writer has not seen, is represented as containing 8 minor divisions besides the other matter. See 2 Haw. Spec., p. 345; 36 Miss Her., 101, each of which contains a translation of the declaration of rights and the substance of the rest of the law. The declaration is published in other works, such as Anderson, Haw. Is., 237, and the entire law as amended constitutes the first part of the constitution of 1840 and all of ch. 3 of the Blue Book. The pamphlet is very rare. There is a copy in the Public Archives.

constitution. It, of course, was a declaration of rights and a part of it was so entitled when, with amendments, it was repeated as a part of, or rather a preamble to, the constitution of 1840, which itself contained a further and more definite bill of rights, but it was entitled "constitution" at the time and was such in matter and form, for it contained what is properly constitutional matter, namely, a bill of rights, and this, not as ordinary law, but as a statement of general principles or limitations on the exercise of governmental functions, and with the express provision that laws should not be enacted at variance with them. It is often referred to as Hawaii's magna charta. In general, it secured the common people and chiefs, with emphasis on the former, in their rights of person and property, and provided that laws should not be made to favor the chiefs, and further, that if a chief should persist in violating the provisions of "this constitution" he should cease to be a chief, and that the same should be true of governors, officers and land agents¹—in marked contrast to the irresponsible absolutism and favoritism of earlier times. The portion² considered as law, and described in the title as the "law regulating property," but much of which was organic or constitutional, considering the organization of the government at that time, consisted of 13 sections and 7 minor divisions. These covered the subjects of taxation, fishing rights, water rights, rents, land tenure, descent, education, duties of governors, chiefs, landlords, tenants, tax officers, etc., and contained provisions for the encouragement of thrift, the starting of new

¹ The drafter of the law suggested omitting this penalty, but the chiefs insisted on retaining it,—but one of the amendments made in the declaration as contained in the constitution of 1840 provided for the reinstatement of a deposed chief upon his changing his course and observing the laws.

² This part constitutes the bulk of the entire enactment and from a practical standpoint was more important than the "declaration of rights" part, which alone is usually referred to—perhaps because it is supposed to have been the whole law owing to the fact that it has usually been published by itself elsewhere and the entire original law has not been generally accessible.

industries and the taking up of new land by those who were without land. Tenure was practically made perpetual, subject to forfeiture for non-payment of rent. Not only were rights of person and property secured by general and specific provisions but taxes were made definite and were greatly reduced and opportunities for oppression were greatly lessened by practically permitting only one mesne lord between the king and the common man. It was the most important law since the abolition of the ancient religious and taboo system twenty years before, and one of the most important ever enacted in Hawaii. There was little said of the legislative power, but the governors were forbidden to make laws without the approval of the king, and the course of procedure for obtaining a new law was prescribed; the chiefs entitled to sit in the council were to receive one-tenth of the taxes collected from their lands; by a unique provision persons successfully recommending improvements in the laws were to be rewarded by admission to the council, and the council was to meet annually in April.¹ The preparation and enactment of this constitution and law furnish a good illustration of the usual course of procedure. It was first drafted by a graduate of Lahainaluna by direction of the king but without definite instructions as to what it should contain. As so drafted it contained only about one-third of what it finally included. The king and chiefs then discussed it several hours a day for five days and then ordered it rewritten. It was then discussed a still longer time and again ordered rewritten, and finally passed unanimously.

The next important step was the adoption by the king and chiefs of the constitution of October 8, 1840. This contained the declaration of rights already referred to but with several amendments and an additional bill of rights, which included a declaration of religious liberty. The earlier Declaration of Rights, notwithstanding statements of some writers to the contrary, contained nothing on this subject, and the Edict of

¹ This was the month for the meeting of the legislature until 1887, when it was changed to May, and that was the month until the change to February in 1894.

Toleration was issued principally, if not solely, with reference to Catholicism. The important feature of this constitution was that it added a declaration, though meager, of the general frame of government. It differentiated governmental functions, but left them still to be exercised by the same persons. For instance, the king, premier and four others, elected by the council (both houses), were to constitute the supreme court, and the governors were to hold the courts next in rank;¹ the council of chiefs was to be a privy council as well as a legislative body, etc. The whole was, as already stated, a declaration of an existing rather than a creation of a new frame of government. Contrary to statements often made, there was no creation of a House of Nobles, although members were thereafter usually called nobles in the English language; there was merely the declaration, similar to that in the proclamation of 1829 referred to above, that "at the present period, these are the persons who shall sit in the government councils," naming the king, premier, and fourteen chiefs.² This was merely a continuation of the old council of chiefs, which since 1829 had grown from twelve to sixteen in membership. Contrary also to the usual statements, the council did not consist merely of the fourteen chiefs, nor were they appointed by the king nor was their office hereditary. The king and premier were active members, as they always had been, and the king presided; the others were already members and their successors or additional members were to be made such by law, that is,

¹ This last was by inference and previous custom rather than by direct provision. The governors were given express authority to appoint judges, which was understood to include judges of superior jurisdiction such as the governors themselves had (see *Evol. of Haw. Jud.*, *Haw. His. Soc. Paper No. 7*, p. 15), as well as inferior judges. They had long before begun to appoint distinctively judicial officers, as when five men were so appointed by the governor of Kauai in 1829 (26 *Miss. Her.*, 107).

² The literal translation is "council of chiefs." It included, besides the king and premier (a female), the four governors, four females of high rank and a number of chiefs of the third rank. A different translation is: "In the public councils of the chiefs, these are the counsellors for the current period." Bingham, *Sandwich Is.*, 562.

they were practically to be elected by both branches of the legislature, and were to hold at the will of the legislature, that is, practically for life or during good behavior.¹ The act of 1839, as already stated, had provided for the admission of others, even common people, who earned that reward by successfully recommending better laws. This constitution took the advance step of providing that there should be "annually chosen by the people certain persons to sit in council with the chiefs and establish laws," the mode of choosing and the number to be determined by law. The two houses were to sit separately, but were permitted to unite when they thought it necessary to consult together. No law could be made except by a majority of each house and the approval of both the king and the premier, each of whom therefore had an absolute power of veto.² A few weeks later, November 2, 1840, the number and mode of choosing representatives was fixed by law—the first election law.³ There were to be one person from Kauai and two from each of the other three principal islands; voting was to be by ballot, but the ballots were to

¹ The provision of the constitution was: "Should any other person be received into the council, it shall be made known by law." This was not fully understood at first, for on April 5, 1845, the nobles alone elected eight new members before the lower house was able to attend, on account of a prevailing influenza, and at other times both before and after that date a few members were added apparently by common assent, but on May 12, 1852, a month before the adoption of the new constitution, an act was passed reciting these irregularities and this clause of the constitution, and declaring such of these persons as were still living to be members and ratifying their acts, as well as providing for two new members. In 1850, as stated below, the cabinet ministers were made ex-officio members of the house of nobles by law. Doubtless ideas of rank and heredity were such as to determine largely who should be admitted to the house of nobles during this period. Even the crown was not strictly hereditary, but the succession in theory rested largely with the council. See Consts. of 1840 and 1852, and manuscript by Richards in Public Archives, *supra*.

² The veto power was probably not exercised at all for some years and was never exercised much until the establishment of territorial government.

³ Blue Book, ch. 2.

consist of letters, a form for which was prescribed, addressed to the king recommending the persons desired; the persons for whom most signatures were obtained were to be the ones chosen; there were also provisions to guard against forgery and repetition of signatures. Another act, of the same date, provided for the promulgation of laws.¹ Another,² passed a week later, prohibited the chiefs, the governors and the king himself from making laws of general application except in council as prescribed by the constitution. This constitution also manifested a marked advance in the conception of the distinction between fundamental and ordinary statute law, and yet, as in Hawaii previously and always in England the legislative body might alter the unwritten constitution as well as the unwritten law, and as it may in continental Europe practically alter even the written constitution by enacting inconsistent laws which the courts cannot hold invalid, so the king, governors and council did not always comply strictly with this constitution, and by a law of May 31, 1841,¹ even went so far as to provide expressly that "the king, the premier and the chiefs resident near" might pass new laws between sessions to remedy newly discovered evils, subject to confirmation or annulment by the next legislature. By a law of May 18, 1841, judges were authorized to punish crimes not defined by statute, but they were to do so as far as possible in accord with the new system and its principles.² The constitution, however, was indefinite, elastic and largely declaratory and so did not seem to the native mind to alter previous conditions much as to the frame of government.

¹ Blue Bk., ch. 1.

² Blue Bk., ch. 4.

¹ Blue Bk., p. 91.

² Blue Bk., ch. 25. Governor Kekuanaoa may have enacted an ordinance for the city of Honolulu as late as Aug. 25, 1843. This related to animals and nuisances on streets, obstruction of streets and to fires, and required persons to clean the street in front of their premises and the premises themselves once a week; also to water the trees and replace dead ones, for "ornament and shade." This, however, purported to be "enacted according to law" and may have been intended merely as a notice for the enforcement of some law passed by the legislature.

This seems a fitting place to digress slightly in order to touch on the general subject of the exercise of legislative power by bodies other than the legislature in Hawaii. No more than passing reference need be made to the treaty-making power, or to the exercise of legislative power by the privy council under the monarchy or the council of state under the republic in appropriating money in cases of emergency between sessions of the legislature, or to the power of courts, boards of health, etc., to make rules and regulations having the force of law.

First, as to direct general legislation by the people. No Hawaiian constitution has ever authorized a referendum of general laws of any kind to the people. Not even the operation of any law, such as a liquor law, in particular localities, has ever been referred by the legislature to the people of the respective localities. Not even a constitution has ever been submitted to the people. Those of 1839, 1840 and 1852 were enacted by the legislative body. Those of 1864 and 1887 were proclaimed by the king. A convention, partially elective, was called for that of 1864 but after sitting some time was dissolved by the king because of its inability to yield to his desire to impose a property qualification on voters. That of 1887 was in a sense of popular origin for it was forced from the king in pursuance of action taken at a popular mass meeting. The only constitution adopted even by a convention called for the purpose, but only one-half of which was elected, was that which established the Republic in 1894. Several amendments have been made, in the manner prescribed by nearly all the constitutions, by adoption at one session of the legislature and passage at another after a general election.

In the other direction—that of local government—which implies local election of officers and local enactment of ordinances, it has generally been supposed in recent years that no such thing ever obtained in Hawaii until the establishment of county government in 1905, excepting that district road boards were elected from 1890 to 1894. That, however, is not so. From 1851¹ to 1859, not only were the district road super-

¹ Act of July 11, 1851.

visors elected, but they were required to submit to the vote of the road-tax payers of their respective districts all questions of laying out new roads or closing old ones. By a law of May 21, 1841, provision was made for the election of school committees by the male parents of townships, districts and villages. But, what is particularly interesting, an act² of November 9, 1841, after reciting that many little evils existed in villages which the general laws could not correct, because the circumstances of one village differed from those of another, provided that the people of any village, township, district or state, might enact laws respecting roads, fences, animals and any other law not at variance with the laws of the kingdom nor on a subject of universal importance, and provided for the calling of meetings of the people for this purpose by various officers on the application of those who desired the law. Here was the whole theory and practice of local government, and the ordinances were to be enacted not by a board of supervisors but by an old-fashioned New England town meeting. This was significant of the extent to which popular rights had come to be recognized. It was, however, a mere democratization of the ancient system, which was one of local government carried to an extreme except that it lacked the popular or representative element. As Mr. Richards wrote earlier in the same year, in ancient times "an island was divided into mokus or states, a moku into kalanas or counties, a kalana into ahupuaas or townships, an ahupuaa into ilis or plantations, an ili into moos or small farms,"¹ and, as we have seen above, in those ancient times each chief possessed almost supreme legislative as well as executive and judicial power over his own territory, subject only to his superiors.²

² Blue Book, ch. 4.

¹ Manuscript, in Public Archives, *supra*.

² Carrying out the ancient idea that each could make laws for his own territory, that is, subject only to his superiors, this act of 1841 provided also that all private individuals should enjoy the same privilege as villages, etc., in making laws applicable to their own premises, subject to the usual limitations. This ancient power in private persons had been recognized in the proclamation of Oct. 7, 1829, referred to above.

To return to the thread of our narrative, a number of other laws were passed in 1840, some before and some after the adoption of the constitution, on larceny, burglary, manufacture of intoxicating drinks, marriage and divorce, police, roads, weights and measures, schools,³ and the act of the preceding year respecting property was reenacted with amendments.

PERIOD OF RAPID DEVELOPMENT—1841-1852.

In 1841 the council passed many laws, including criminal laws,¹ laws relating to servants, apprenticeships, labor contracts, prison labor, debts and usury, attachments, fences and estrays, bailments, parental duties, and the law already referred to relating to local government, etc. Perhaps the most important law was one in regard to schools—the first comprehensive school law. One of its provisions was a civil service reform requirement to the effect that no one born since the beginning of Liholiho's reign who did not understand reading, writing, geography and arithmetic should hold office.² This was the first session at which there was a lower house, three representatives having been chosen. The first compilation of the laws was then prepared and published, containing the constitution of 1840 and 43 chapters of laws, but not all arranged in chronological order. In 1842 a number of laws were passed on various subjects, the most important of which was one relating to courts and juries—the first judiciary act. Another law distinguished between the personal and political characters of the king, premier, governors and other officers by providing that none of them should use government property for private purposes, but that all such property should be at the

³ Referred to in Blue Book, p. 67, but not printed in that book.

¹ Chiefly on murder, larceny, sexual intercourse, assaults, counterfeiting, perjury, forgery, gambling, disturbance of night, heedless riding and vagrancy.

² Also that no one born since that date who could not read and write should marry, unless ignorance was due to misfortune, such as distance from school, and not to laziness.

direction of the national council.¹ The laws of that year were added to the compilation of 1841 and all were published as the compilation of 1842. This contained the constitution and 55 chapters (besides one unnumbered chapter) covering 200 duodecimo pages in the English edition, translated by Mr. Richards.² It included some laws passed as early as 1833, and some that had their origin as far back as oral laws of 1823. Not a law in the book had a single adverse vote on final passage. They were all discussed and amended until every member of the council who was present was satisfied.¹

This compilation was called at first the "Laws of the Hawaiian Islands," later the "Old Laws," and more recently the "Blue Book," from the color of its cover. Some have lately called it the "Blue Laws," and opprobriously referred to it in

¹ Other laws were on tax officers, taxes and duties, quarantine, attachments, schools, escapes, and banishment (to another island).

² This entire translation has been reprinted in the Hawaii Holumua newspaper, beginning June 6, 1894, and in a duodecimo volume from the same type; also in Report of Subcommittee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico to U. S. Senate, 1901, Part 3, p. 257; and in Thurston's "Fundamental Law of Hawaii," 1904, p. 1. The constitution and part of the laws were published in the Polynesian, beginning March 6, 1841, but the paper suspended before all the laws were published. The constitution alone has been printed in 4 Wilkes, U. S. Expl. Exped., 21; Jarves, Hist., 316; and, with Rules of House of Representatives, etc., in a pamphlet in 1851; and, a different translation, in Bingham, Sandwich Is., 562.

Nearly all Hawaiian laws have been published both in newspapers and in book form in both languages, excepting that most of the individual laws before the compilation of 1842, the unenacted compilations of 1884 and 1897, and the Penal Code of 1869 and Revised Laws of 1905 which were enacted as a whole by reference, were not published in newspapers; and some laws enacted before 1840 were not published at all in English, and the compilation of 1841 was not published in English except as part of the compilation of 1842; and the session laws and Revised Laws enacted since annexation have not been published at all in Hawaiian. The Hawaiian version controlled until 1859, since which time the English version has controlled. See Revised Laws, Sec. 24 and note.

¹ Gov. Kuakini of Hawaii was not present when the constitution was adopted and when it was sent to him he thought that the governors' powers were too greatly limited.

that light as the work of the missionaries.² But there is ample evidence of the most satisfactory kind that the missionaries had nothing to do directly with the suggestion, preparation or enactment of these laws. A few were proposed by foreign visitors and residents, consuls and commanders of vessels, and a few were originally drafted by them, but nearly all were the work of the Hawaiians exclusively.³ They were, however, for the most part indirectly the work of the missionaries and, as such, one of their grandest monuments, for, crude and quaint though they are, the wonder is that they were so far advanced. The press, the schools, the churches of the missionaries, and their noble lives tell the reason. It took Hawaii just a score of years after the arrival of the missionaries to attain magna charta, religious liberty and constitutional government. It took our forefathers six centuries after the arrival of the missionaries to attain magna charta and five centuries more to attain religious liberty. It is true, governmental functions were still somewhat mingled, but in some of the American colonies the governors and legislative councils acted as supreme courts or judges down to the time of the Revolution.¹ It was best that development should proceed on natural lines

² E. g., it was published, as stated in a preceding note, in the *Holomua* newspaper, under the heading "Hawaii's 'Blue Laws,' constitution and laws framed by the missionaries," in order to show, as ironically stated in the editorial, "the love and good will of the first missionaries, through their work as legislators"; and in the Report of the Senate Subcommittee, also referred to in the same note, as an exhibit presented to the committee as "Hawaii's 'Blue' Laws—constitution and laws of 1840—a practical illustration of the missionaries' love for the Hawaiians."

³ Written chiefly by David Malo, Boaz Mahune, John and Daniel Ii, and Timothy Keaweii. John Ii was afterwards a justice of the supreme court.

¹ It is true also that penal offenses were not all defined by statute, but that is so in some states at the present time. The punishments, moreover, extended beyond death, imprisonment and fine to irons, whipping and banishment (to another island, generally Kahoolawe), but they were not more severe and were administered more humanely than is the case at present in some civilized countries. Some leading jurists now advocate a return to whipping for certain offenses. Provision was made for pardons in case of good conduct. There was nothing in these laws suggestive of the alleged blue laws of Connecticut. The most competent critics of the time were of the opinion that the laws were so advanced that the main difficulty lay in their administration because of the inexperience and incapacity of the officers and ignorance of the masses.

a little longer. The editor of the "Polynesian," after referring to the good intentions of the council, soon after it met in 1841, well said: "Perhaps the greatest difficulty now to be feared is their legislating too fast and too far for the present condition of their subjects. They have a difficult course to steer to reconcile the rapidly advancing interests, numbers and wealth of the foreign population with the incipient state of their own."

That was the problem for the next few years, during which there was little legislation, but marvelous growth, largely through lessons learned from friction with foreigners, which resulted in lawsuits, diplomatic correspondence, embassies abroad, and even seizure by the British and occupation by them for five months in 1843, and finally vindication, restoration, and recognition of independence by the United States in 1842, Great Britain and France in 1843, and Belgium in 1844.

In April, 1843, the council held its regular session, a short one, during the British occupation, and enacted a law amending many former laws, which was published in a small pamphlet, and part of which was suspended by the British Commission,¹ and in August held another short session, at which it enacted an important law² relating to juries, leases of government lands, sales of lands to foreigners, liquor selling and providing for the erection of prisons on the principal islands. No session was held in 1844.³

The year 1845 marked a tremendous advance. Two thoughts predominated—one of encouragement from escaped dangers and the recognition of independence, the other of deep conviction of the need of such legislation as would meet the

¹ By its terms it was not to take effect until submitted to the Commission. The pamphlet was of six duodecimo pages, including the title page and its blank verso. It is now rare.

² Law of August 11, 1843, in Public Archives. Under this, prisons were erected on all the islands. Report of Min. of the Interior to Legislature, May 21, 1845, p. 10.

³ But the king, with the approval of the chiefs, issued a code of official etiquette on June 29, 1844.

new conditions and prove Hawaii worthy of membership in the family of nations. The council had become known as the legislative council, and its branches as the House of Nobles and the House of Representatives. The session was held at Honolulu, instead of at Lahaina. The Nobles met first and transacted some business, and finally on the 20th of May, when the prevailing influenza permitted, the legislature was opened for the first time by a formal speech from the throne, followed the next day by the reading of elaborate reports from the members of the cabinet, which had already been formed without the aid of statute. The report of prime importance was that of the Attorney General, John Ricord, who, upon touching here, had been persuaded to remain. He was the first lawyer in Hawaii, a young man of ability, industry and high purposes, versed in the common and the civil law, and had once before aided in "giving impulse to the organic action of a forming government."¹ He presented a report on inferences in the constitution, in which he discoursed at length on the nature and limitations of constitutional government and of the three coördinate departments, the need of more definite laws, particularly those of a criminal nature and those relating to the jurisdiction and procedure of the courts, expounded the powers implied in the constitution and suggested the outlines of five organic acts. In pursuance of a resolution² passed by the legislature a month later he set about the drafting of the proposed acts. These, when prepared, were submitted to the king in cabinet council for discussion and amendment, translated into Hawaiian by Mr. Richards, reported to the legislature, and passed by it through three readings section by section and more or less amended. The first, which was an

¹ He was originally from New York, was appointed Attorney General March 9, 1841, and resigned May 17, 1847. He closed his last report to the legislature, April 28, 1847, with these words: "Providence has once before allowed me to aid in giving impulse to the organic action of a forming government, since merged into a mighty nation. The archives of that sovereign State (Texas) for the years 1836 and 1837, enroll my name among those whose labors contributed to its independence."

² Joint Resolution of June 24, 1845.

act of nine pages organizing the executive ministry and known as the "First Act of Kamehameha III," was passed at an adjourned session of the same year. The "Second Act of Kamehameha III," covering 254 pages, organizing the several executive departments of the interior, foreign relations, finance, public instruction and law, was passed the next year. It was a part of this act, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated, that established the board of commissioners to quiet land titles, which, by awarding in fee simple to the several chiefs and common people the lands occupied by them, completed the evolution of the feudal into the allodial system. This act established also the system of recording deeds. Both of these acts, with a few resolutions, were published in one volume. The "Third Act of Kamehameha III,"¹ of 63 pages, organizing the judiciary department, in the preparation of which Ricord was aided by Judges W. L. Lee and L. Andrews, was enacted in 1847, and published with other acts and resolutions of that year in a separate volume. These three acts have been the basis of Hawaiian organic law ever since, as well as of much law not strictly organic.² They went far towards completing the separation of legislative, executive and judicial functions, and, in many respects, though ingeniously justified as declarations of powers implied in the constitution, were in reality amendments of that instrument. Indeed, the constitution had already been extensively amended by natural growth.

The remaining two proposed acts, namely, the penal code and the civil code, though begun, were never completed. But

¹ Prepared in pursuance of Joint Resolution of Nov. 10, 1846. Among other things, it expressly permitted the courts to adopt the principles of the civil as well as the common law. In 1892 the common law was prescribed except as changed by statute, precedent or usage.

² E. g., the common law as to married women was incorporated with very little change in the act of 1846, much against the views of many Hawaiians, among whom women had previously been on much the same footing as men. This was one of the few instances of undue haste in adopting the so-called enlightened laws of civilized nations. This remained law until 1888.

later in 1847, after Ricord's resignation, the legislature passed a resolution³ requesting Judge Lee to prepare such codes, and, after a session in 1848, at which, among other laws, it passed that by which the lands held by the king in his two-fold political capacity were separated into the public and crown lands, and after a dissolution in 1849 without passing any acts, it enacted in 1850 the penal code prepared by Judge Lee. This covered 133 pages. Much of it was borrowed from the proposed penal codes prepared by commissioners for Massachusetts and by Mr. Livingston for Louisiana. It has been the basis of Hawaiian criminal laws ever since.¹ With the penal code were published the other acts of the same year, the most important of which were those on schools, descent and contract labor, the last of which, now repealed, played so important a part in the history of these islands.

At this session also were enacted two important laws affecting the law-making power. One was an election law, which changed the form of ballot from the old open list of signatures to that of separate secret ballots, and provided that only citizens and denizens twenty years old, and not insane or convicted of an infamous crime, could vote. The other increased the representatives from seven to twenty-four—thus greatly strengthening the popular branch of the legislature—limited them to citizens and denizens twenty-five years old who could read and write and understood accounts, and gave the cabinet ministers seats, with the right to vote, in the House of Nobles—a step towards ministerial responsibility. The civil code was never prepared.

The time had now come for a modern constitution to conform to the changes that had taken place since that of 1840. Accordingly, in 1851, the legislature, besides passing a number

³ Sept. 27, 1847.

¹ A second edition of the Hawaiian version was published in 1852. The penalties were limited to death, imprisonment and fine, except that whipping remained as an alternative punishment for larceny in the fourth degree in the case of males until 1872.

of acts including important acts on prisons and guardianship,¹ provided for the appointment of three persons by the king, nobles and representatives respectively to revise the constitution, and the constitution so prepared, chiefly by Judge Lee,² who was appointed by the representatives, was adopted at the next session. This has been the basis of all subsequent constitutions. In general the three powers of government were to be "preserved distinct," and, specifically, legislative and judicial powers were not to be "united in any one individual or body." Many provisions³ were made in regard to the legislative body as well as other bodies, of which mention need be made only that the nobles were to be appointed for life by the king instead of by law, and were not to exceed thirty in number; that the representatives were to number not less than twenty-four nor more than forty, and that to the qualifications of voters was added that of payment of taxes. The privy council was separated from the house of nobles. The king, premier, and four nobles were no longer to constitute the supreme court. The law-making body was called the legislature, and the king was named as a third and coördinate branch instead

¹ Borrowed from Massachusetts.

² Then chief justice of the superior court of law and equity, afterwards chief justice of the supreme court. Dr. G. P. Judd, minister of finance, was appointed by the king, and John Ii, a noble and judge of the superior court, afterwards a justice of the supreme court, by the nobles.

³ Among these were provisions that each house should be judge of the qualifications of its members; a majority should be a quorum, but a smaller number might adjourn, and compel attendance of others; each house should choose its officers and make its rules of procedure, might punish non-members for contempt, and its own members for disorderly behavior; should keep a journal and enter ayes and noes at request of one-fifth; members should be privileged from arrest when attending, going or returning, and not be held to answer for any speech; nobles were to sit without pay, representatives' pay to be fixed by law but not to exceed three dollars a day; nobles were to be a court of impeachment, representatives to make impeachments; representatives were to be apportioned according to population every sixth year; a form of enacting clause was prescribed and every law should embrace but one object, which should be expressed in its title.

of a member of the council of chiefs or house of nobles. Revenue and appropriation bills were to originate in the house of representatives.¹

This completes the strictly formative period of Hawaiian statute law. Growth has continued since, but it has been largely through such changes by session laws and constitutional alterations as might naturally occur in a matured state. All subsequent codes have been mere compilations or revisions of previous laws.

PERIOD OF MATURITY—1852-1905.

Annual sessions continued to be held from 1852 to 1856, among the more important acts being those of dower in 1852,² the judiciary act and acts of summary possession and divorce in 1853, and garnishment and corporations in 1856. The number of representatives was increased from twenty-four to twenty-seven in 1853 and legislative sessions were made biennial in 1856. In pursuance of a joint resolution of the latter year the "Civil Code of 1859" was prepared and submitted in 1858, and enacted in 1859. This was not a new code but a compilation and revision of former statutes with some important alterations. The other acts of the same session were published in the same volume. The session lasted 140 days and was by far the longest up to that date.¹

¹ This constitution, which took effect the first Monday in December, 1852, was published in a pamphlet at the time; in the Laws of 1852, p. 2; the Laws of 1860, p. 47; and Thurston's Fundamental Law, 1904, p. 155.

² Borrowed in part from Massachusetts.

¹ The joint resolution, dated June 30, 1856, named Prince Kamehameha, Chief Justice W. L. Lee and Associate Justice G. M. Robertson as the committee to prepare the code. Notes of reference to decisions were to be added, but this was not done. On Judge Lee's death, during the progress of the work, Chief Justice E. H. Allen was appointed in his place. The work was presented to the legislature in June, 1858, and, after it was examined for some months by a joint committee of five members from each house, was taken up at an adjourned session on the first Monday in December section by section and with amendments passed May 17, 1859. Besides being published in the octavo volume, of which it covers 363 pages, it was published in a newspaper, single column, small type, and from the same type was printed in book form, quarto, 40 pages, including index, three columns to the page. This edition is rare.

The lower house had grown in numbers and influence. Its membership included some foreigners (citizens or denizens) of ability and character. It was the working branch of the legislature and was the more dignified of the two houses. The grand old chiefs were passing away, and the nobles, appointed by the king, were becoming subservient to him and his ministry.¹ There was much friction between these and the lower house. After a long and severe contest in 1859 the representatives had defeated a cabinet measure to extend the liquor traffic to the Hawaiians, and had succeeded after several years of effort in imposing the first general ad valorem tax on real property.² In 1862 they compelled a cabinet to resign, chiefly because of the incompetency, due to intemperance, of the minister of finance. This was regarded as a decisive gain in the direction of ministerial responsibility. The long reign of the patriotic, liberal and progressive Kamehameha III had come to a close at the end of 1854. Kamehameha IV was reactionary in his tendencies. In 1859, he and his ministry procured the first passage of constitutional amendments permitting those of his ministers who were not nobles to sit with the representatives, permitting appointments of nobles for years as well as for life at his option,³ and requiring representatives to own real estate of the value of \$1,000 or be in receipt of an annual income of the same amount. These, however, were lost at the session of 1860. The first passage of other amendments was procured at the session of 1862, permitting appointments of nobles for not

¹ In 1862 it was said that there were usually only about ten nobles in attendance, and that these wore their hats (as in the British parliament), smoked and put their heels on the desks when in session.

² $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1%. Now 1%. Previously the real property tax had been, as in ancient times, specific on ahupuaas, ilis, etc., of land.

³ While this provision might tend to make the nobles more subservient, it was considered by many liberals a step in advance, as it might facilitate the strengthening of the house of nobles by additional appointments of able natives and foreigners. Similar attempts have been made to strengthen the British house of lords in its judicial capacity by life instead of hereditary appointments.

less than five years as well as for life and imposing a property or income qualification of \$250 on representatives, but before the following session the king died, and his brother, Kamehameha V, still more reactionary, omitted to take the oath or convene the legislature at the usual time in 1864, and, instead, summoned a convention to revise the constitution. This consisted of himself as president, the nobles, sixteen in number, and twenty-seven elected delegates, sitting together. When its labors were nearly completed he dissolved it, because of its refusal to impose a property qualification on voters, and proclaimed a new constitution.¹ This followed the constitution of 1852 in the main, but reduced the power of the representatives by requiring the two houses to sit together and not requiring revenue and appropriation bills to originate with the representatives, though it also lowered the maximum number of nobles from thirty to twenty; it also imposed additional qualifications of \$500 worth of real property or \$250 annual income on representatives, and \$150 worth of property or a leasehold worth \$25 annually or an annual income of \$75 on voters, and also ability to read and write if the voter was born after 1840. The law-making body was called the legislative assembly. Although the general provision that the three powers should be "preserved distinct" was retained, the specific provision against the union of legislative and judicial powers was narrowed to a provision that no judge of a court of record should be a member of the legislature. The office of kuhina nui was abolished. Thus was inaugurated, to use a comparison made by another,² the Hawaiian Tudor period of reassertion of kingly power, which was destined to be fol-

¹ This constitution, which took effect August 20, 1864, was published in a pamphlet at the time; in the Laws of 1864, p. 85; after the index in the Penal Code of 1869; in a pamphlet in 1887 in parallel columns with the constitution of 1887; and in Thurston's Fundamental Law, 1904, p. 169. It is supposed to have been prepared chiefly by the Attorney General, afterwards Chief Justice, C. C. Harris.

² Chambers, Const. Hist. of Haw., p. 20.

lowed by a Stuart period "in which absolutism was wrecked upon the rocks of revolution."

There were few acts of great permanent value passed at the biennial sessions from 1860 to 1868. Perhaps those of greatest importance and interest were the two of 1865 making the crown lands inalienable and providing for the segregation of lepers, and that of 1860 known as the "Act to Mitigate,"² the last two of which have probably received more attention and aroused more discussion ever since than any others. In 1868 the number of representatives was increased to twenty-eight.³ In 1870, the "Penal Code of 1869," a compilation of that of 1850 and subsequent penal laws without revision, was enacted as a whole by reference.⁴

From the Penal Code of 1869 to the constitution of 1887, the session of 1876 was the most prolific in legislation of permanent interest or value. At that session were passed the long acts on evidence and criminal procedure, and the acts on abatement, garnishment, interpleader, extraordinary writs, and the stamp act.¹ Other acts of special note during this period were those on habeas corpus and limitations in 1870, mortgage foreclosures in 1874, equity jurisdiction and railroads in 1878, partnerships in 1880 and 1886, liquor in 1882,² and the banking, bankruptcy, replevin and homestead acts of 1884. In 1870, the acts of each session began to be numbered and published in chronological order. They were designated as chapters with Roman numerals until the overthrow of the monarchy and since then as acts with Arabic numerals. In 1874 provision was made for the codification and revision of the laws, but,

² No longer enforced.

³ Act of June 22, 1868.

⁴ Prepared by R. G. Davis and R. H. Stanley, of the bar, under the direction of the Supreme Court Justices, E. H. Allen, A. S. Hartwell and J. W. Austin, in pursuance of an act of June 22, 1868, and enacted July 7, 1870.

¹ All supposed to have been prepared by E. Preston, afterwards Supreme Court Justice; the first three were borrowed largely from England.

² Among other things this abolished the prohibition of sales of liquor to natives.

nothing having come of this, similar provision was made in 1880, the result of which was the "Compiled Laws of 1884," an unenacted compilation without revision, consisting of the Civil Code of 1859 as amended, with other matter placed for the most part near kindred subjects between the sections of that code, the original section numbers of which were retained. There were marginal citations of applicable decisions from four volumes of Hawaiian reports. The Hawaiian version was not published until 1889 and contained also the amendments made, but not other laws enacted, at the sessions of 1884 and 1886 and some additional references to decisions.¹

Soon after the death of Kamehameha V, Lunalilo was elected king at a special session of the legislature in January, 1873, at which constitutional amendments were approved abolishing the property qualifications of voters for representatives and restoring separate sessions of the two houses, but only the first of these proposed amendments was finally adopted at the session of 1874. Soon after Lunalilo's death, Kalakaua was elected king at a special session in February, 1874. This marked the beginning of a period of steadily increasing extravagance, corruption, personal interference by the sovereign in politics, procurement of the election of appointed executive and judicial office-holders as representatives, fomentation of race feeling and general endeavor to restore the ancient order of things with its heathen customs and ideas of absolutism and divine right, until, in 1887, the king was forced by peaceful revolution to proclaim an amended constitution.² This provided that no executive or judicial officer or contractor or employee of the government should be eligible to the legis-

¹ This compilation was prepared in pursuance of the act of August 13, 1880. The commission consisted of Chief Justice A. F. Judd, Associate Justice L. McCully and J. M. Kapena. In accordance with their understanding, Judge McCully prepared the English version, and J. M. Kapena the Hawaiian.

² This constitution, which was in force from July 7, 1887, was published separately in a pamphlet at the time; also in a pamphlet in parallel columns with the constitution of 1864; in *Laws of 1892*, p. 343; 5 *Haw. Reps.* 703; and *Thurston's Fundamental Law*, 1904, p. 181.

lature, and no legislator should during the time for which he was elected be appointed to any civil office under the government, except that of a member of the cabinet; made the ministers, who were to continue to sit in the legislature, responsible to it instead of to the king by making them removable by a vote of want of confidence;¹ changed the king's absolute veto to a qualified veto; took from him the appointment of the nobles for life, increased their number from a maximum of twenty to a fixed number of twenty-four, made them elective for terms of six years; made eligible as nobles and qualified as electors of nobles persons of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent instead of "subjects" only, but required them, both nobles and electors, to have \$3000 worth of taxable property or \$600 annual income, to have resided in the country three years and taken the oath to support the constitution and laws; reduced the number of representatives, who were still to be "subjects," from twenty-eight to twenty-four and made qualified as voters for representatives persons of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent who had resided in the country one year and taken the oath.² The law-making body was called the legislature.

There was much legislation during the four sessions from the constitution of 1887 to the downfall of the monarchy in 1893. The session of 1888 was particularly fruitful of important acts, but mention will be made only of the married

¹ This was by a direct vote of want of confidence and not, as in England, by an adverse vote on a government measure. The king was to follow the advice of his cabinet, but this was held not to apply to the exercise of the veto power. *Everett v. Baker*, 7 Haw. 229.

² The nobles were also to have paid their taxes and to be able to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper in Hawaiian, English or some European language. Voters were to be able to read and write in one of those languages (if born since 1840), besides having other qualifications, such as payment of taxes, &c. The educational and residence qualifications were not required of nobles or voters then resident if they registered and voted at the first election. The object was to give bona fide residents other than Asiatics a voice in the government. The educational qualifications in fact excluded most of the Portuguese.

women's act, the Australian ballot act, and the mechanic's lien, postal savings bank and Oahu railway acts, of that session, the general corporation act and acts on quieting titles and garnishment of government beneficiaries of 1890 and the judiciary, writ of error and inheritance tax acts of 1892. Provision was made in 1892 for a codification and revision of the penal laws. Such a code was prepared with extensive changes made in the former laws in accordance with what were believed to be sound modern views and presented in printed form to the next legislature but was not adopted and was never published.¹

Notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution of 1887 and the fair promises of the king, the next few years witnessed a constant struggle on his part and after his death in January, 1891, on the part of the queen, Liliuokalani, to regain their lost powers and extend the royal prerogatives, until the queen, on January 14, 1893, at the close of the longest session ever held, during which many cabinets were appointed and voted out, attempted a *coup d'etat* by which she sought to accomplish her object by the promulgation of a new constitution² giving her more absolute power than that of 1864 had conferred on the sovereign, but which resulted in her overthrow and the establishment of the provisional government on January 17 by a second peaceful revolution. The

¹ Prepared under act of Aug. 6, 1892. The commission consisted of Chief Justice Judd, and C. Brown, of the bar, and W. Foster, of the bar and Clerk of the Supreme Court. The work was done by Foster. It was a compilation and revision of Hawaiian laws, but followed the penal code of California to some extent. Offenses were not graded except as felonies and misdemeanors; as a rule only imprisonment or only fine and only the maximum amount was prescribed as the penalty for each offense; an attempt was made also to simplify the procedure. All was divided into 29 chapters on offenses against departments of governments, 40 chapters on offenses against persons, property and society, and 20 chapters on jurisdiction and procedure. Notes showed the origin of the various parts and contained cross references and references to decisions in 9 volumes of the reports.

² What is said to have been the queen's proposed constitution is published in the Blount Report, p. 581, made a part of the President's message to Congress, Dec. 18, 1893.

legislative power then was vested in the executive and advisory councils of that government until the constitution of the republic (which was enacted by them as well as by the convention which adopted it) took effect on July 4, 1894, and thereafter in such councils as the executive and advisory councils of the republic, the latter of which was continued temporarily for the purpose, until the first session of the legislature of the republic.² Laws were enacted by these councils from January, 1893, to May, 1895.

The constitution¹ of the republic made the president responsible, and gave him power to veto specific items in appropriation bills; deprived the cabinet of seats in the legislature, but made them removable as well as appointable by the president only with the consent of the senate, except that any one member might be removed by the president with the approval of the other three members; followed the present English practice of turning election cases over to the courts by giving to the supreme court exclusive jurisdiction of such cases; reduced the membership of each house to 15, and required members to be citizens and to have resided in the country three years; changed the name of the upper house to "senate," and increased the alternative income qualification to \$1200; required representatives to have \$1000 worth of property or \$600 annual income; required voters for members of each house to be citizens or have special letters of denization or a certificate of service in the formation of the provisional government, and voters for senators to have \$1500 worth of real property or \$3000 worth of personal property or \$600 annual income; and

² These councils consisted of 4, later 5, and 13 members respectively. The convention consisted of the 18 members of the councils and 18 elected members. See *Laws of Provisional Government*, Proclamation on p. 1, and Acts 1, 4, 11, 49, 63, 69, 85, also Art. 100 and the last two paragraphs of the constitution, in regard to the councils, the convention and the constitution.

¹ This constitution, which took effect July 4, 1894, was published in a pamphlet at the time; also with the convention proceedings; and in 9 Haw. Reps. 732; in both the Civil Laws and the Penal Laws of 1897, p. 1; and Thurston's *Fundamental Law*, 1904, p. 201.

increased the size of the representative districts so as to apportion two or three representatives to each district for the purposes of the cumulative system of voting, which was provided for.

Among the acts of most importance passed during the three sessions held under the republic were the public land act¹ of 1895, and the audit, rapid transit and limitations acts of 1898. In 1897 a compilation² was published in two volumes entitled "Civil Laws" and "Penal Laws." This was not enacted. The laws were not revised. In the Penal Laws the arrangement of the Penal Code of 1869 was followed and new matter added at the end, but the sections were numbered consecutively throughout the volume. The Civil Laws was based on the Compiled Laws of 1884 and subsequent laws, but rearranged. At the end of each chapter in each volume, a note showed the origin or last amendment of each section in the chapter and the cases in ten volumes of supreme courts reports which referred to sections contained in the chapter. The constitution of 1894 was included in each volume.

Hawaii was annexed to the United States by the treaty approved by the Hawaiian Senate September 9, 1897, the joint resolution of congress of July 7, 1898, and the transfer of sovereignty on August 12, 1898, and no session of the legislature was held until after the establishment of territorial government, on June 14, 1900, by the organic act passed by congress April 30, 1900.¹ This act abolished the cabinet as a body and

¹ Borrowed largely from New Zeaand. It covered what had previously been crown lands as well as government lands, the former having become incorporated in the latter by Art. 95 of the constitution of 1894.

² Prepared by S. M. Ballou, of the bar, in pursuance of an item in the appropriation bill of June 8, 1896.

¹ This was prepared by a commission consisting of U. S. Senators Cullom and J. T. Morgan and Representative R. R. Hitt, and President S. B. Dole and Associate Justice W. F. Frear of Hawaii. The last mentioned also hastily prepared a rough compilation of the Civil and Penal Laws of 1897 and Session Laws of 1898 as modified by the proposed organic act. A small edition of this was published in one volume in Washington for the use of Congress in its consideration of the proposed organic act.

substituted heads of departments, but left their appointment and removal in the governor with the consent of the senate; took from the supreme court jurisdiction of election cases and made each house judge in respect of its own members as had been the case before the constitution of the republic; reduced the terms of senators from 6 to 4 years; doubled the number of representatives, abolished all property, income and tax-payment qualifications of senators, representatives and voters, but required all to be citizens, and the legislators to have resided in the Territory three years, and voters one year; and abolished the cumulative system of voting but left the representative districts as they were, so that with the doubled number of representatives, four or six are elected from each district. It also required members of both houses as well as voters to have resided in the district for three months immediately preceding the time at which they offered to register, thus ending the practice which had previously prevailed by which, as in England, any district could, and often did, elect a representative of capacity from some other part of the country.

Among the more important acts passed under Territorial government are the income tax act¹ of 1901, the Torrens' land registration act² and the forestry act of 1903, and the county act, liquor act, inheritance tax act, public archives act, and acts for the trial and probation of juvenile delinquents and the parole of prisoners, passed in 1905³. In 1905 the legislature also enacted as a whole by reference a compilation⁴ of all the laws, known as the "Revised Laws." This included what there was left of the Civil Code of 1859 and Penal Code of 1869 and all subsequent laws. These were published in one

¹ Borrowed from the federal income tax law of 1894.

² Borrowed from Massachusetts.

³ In 1904. Mr. L. A. Thurston, of the Hawaiian bar, edited and indexed a volume entitled "Fundamental Law of Hawaii," containing all the constitutions, the organic act, the Blue Book and other matter.

⁴ Prepared in pursuance of an act of April 25, 1903, by a commission consisting of Chief Justice W. F. Frear, and A. A. Wilder and A. F. Judd of the bar, the former now a justice of the supreme court, aided by C. F. Clemons, of the bar, as clerk.

volume of 1451 large pages, which also included a prefix containing the federal constitution, the treaty and resolution of annexation and the organic act of the Territory, and an appendix containing former land laws and other matter. The index was unusually full. The laws were both revised, though not extensively, and rearranged. Titles, chapters and sections were numbered consecutively throughout the volume. Sections in chapters were arranged in groups and each group given a subtitle, and each section was given a heading. Lines of sections were numbered. Both chapters and sections had notes giving their history, including original enactments, amendments and where found in compilations; giving other matters of interest, cross-references, changes made in the text, and the substance of applicable decisions in fifteen volumes of Hawaiian reports and all federal reports and the opinions of the United States Attorney General. The latest revisions elsewhere were examined and what were deemed the best features of each were adopted with a view to making the volume as perfect as possible in appearance, arrangement, annotations and other respects.

During the third of a century from the first visits of foreigners in 1786 after the death of the discoverer in 1779 to the abolition of the ancient religious and taboo system in 1819 shortly after the death of Kamehameha the Conqueror, Hawaii became largely prepared for the new by losing respect for the old. During the next third of a century, from the arrival of the missionaries to the constitution of 1852, she gradually evolved a fairly modern written constitution, especially in its practical working, an extensive code of organic law, such as will inevitably exist, and a definite criminal code, such as ought to exist, in every civilized state. During the next third of a century—to the constitution of 1887—foreign influence continued to increase until residents of foreign birth or descent were practically on a basis of political equality with the natives. Since then Hawaii has passed from monarchy through provisional government, republic and transition period to ter-

ritorial government. By the end of this third of a century, from 1887 to 1920, a century after the arrival of the missionaries, will she have passed into statehood? On the whole she has been moderate and conservative in her legislation, and such laws as have been enacted have as a rule been prepared carefully and on broad lines. She has indulged little in local, special or private legislation or legislation of a speculative character. She has borrowed freely, where she could, from the best statutes elsewhere, more perhaps from Massachusetts than from any other one state, but also from other states as well as from England, Australia and New Zealand. With the increase of people from the western states, there has been a tendency in recent years to borrow somewhat from those states. She has not adopted the code practice, but she has never adopted useless forms and fictions in judicial procedure. She has not attempted to codify the common law of personal and property rights. Conditions have given her her full share of constitutions but she has built one upon another and confined all to what is properly constitutional matter—a bill of rights and a frame of government. She has enacted only 5,000 pages of laws, exclusive of general compilations and revisions, during the 80 years since she began to print laws, and so many of these have been mere amendments or repeals or consolidations of laws on particular subjects or laws of a temporary nature that all now in force of every description in consolidated form would cover only about 1,000 pages. And yet she is beginning to show signs of infection by what Sir Henry Maine calls “the capital fact in the mechanism of modern states”—“the energy of legislatures,” for she enacted an average of less than 75 pages a session at the 32 sessions held during the 48 years from 1839 to 1887,¹ and has enacted an average of nearly three times that number at each of the 12 sessions held during the 18 years since.²

¹ Including the organic acts of 1845, 1846 and 1847, and the penal code of 1850, and excluding the session of 1849, which was adjourned without enacting any laws. Compilations and revisions are excluded. The year 1839 was when regular sessions began; and the year 1887, when the upper house became elective and the privileges of voting and election were conferred extensively on residents of foreign birth or descent.

² New York has enacted an average of nearly 1900 pages a year for the last six years.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

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Appleton Sturges, New York.
J. G. Swan, Esq., Port Townsend, Wash.

* Deceased.

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 Hon. James Grant Wilson, Washington, D. C.
 Hon. H. M. Sewall, Maine.
 Mons. L. Vossion, Paris.

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 *Allen, W. F.

Baldwin, H. P.
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 Banning, B. R.
 Bertram, Bro. G.
 Bishop, Rev. S. E.

Camp, Dr. C. E.
 Carter, A. W.
 Carter, G. R.
 Carter, J. O.
 Castle, G. P.
 Castle, J. B.
 Castle, W. R.

Damon, F. W.
 Damon, S. M.
 Day, Dr. F. R.
 Dayton, D.
 Desha, G. L.

Emerson, J. S.
 Emerson, Mrs. J. S.
 Emerson, Dr. N. B.

Fisher, J. H.
 Frear, Hon. W. F.

Giffard, W. M.

Hackfeld, J. F.
 Hall, W. W.
 Hartwell, A. S.
 Hatch, F. M.
 Hendrick, H. E.
 Henriques, E.
 Heusinger, E. W.

Alexander, W. D.

Bolte, C.
 Bowen, W. A.
 Brown, Cecil
 Brown, C. A.
 Bryan, W. A.

Catton, R.
 Clark, Walter
 Cooke, A. F.
 Cooke, C. M.
 Cooke, J. P.
 Cunha, E. S.

Dickey, C. H.
 Dickey, L. A.
 Dillingham, B. F.
 Dole, Hon. S. B.
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Highton, H. E.
 Hillebrand, Miss H.
 Hobron, T. W.
 Ho Fon
 Horne, Perley H.
 Hustace, C.

Irwin, W. G.

Jones, P. C.

Kanakanui, S. M.

Kirkaldy, G. W.

Lewers, Robert

Logan, D.

Lowrey, F. J.

Mackintosh, Rev. A.

Magoon, J. A.

Marx, B. L.

Mott-Smith, E. A.

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Perry, A.

Pond, Percy M.

Restarick, Rt. Rev. H. B.

Rhodes, C. L.

Robinson, M. P.

Schaefer, F. A.

Searle, J. C.

Shipman, Miss Alice

Smith, G. W.

Smith, Henry

Terry, F. W.

Thrum, T. G.

Von Holt, H.

Wall, W. E.

Weaver, P. L.

Westervelt, Rev. W. D.

Whiting, W. A.

Wichman, H. F.

Wilcox, A. S.

Wilcox, G. N.

Judd, Albert F.

Kerr, L. B.

Lydecker, R.

Lyle, James

Lyons, C. J.

May, Thomas

McClanahan, E. B.

McIntyre, H. E.

Potter, Geo. C.

Potwine, Rev. W. E.

Prosser, M. F.

Rodgers, Dr. C. T.

Rowell, W. E.

Smith, W. G.

Smith, W. O.

Stokes, John

Swanzy, F. M.

Thurston, L. A.

Towse, Ed.

Williams, H. H.

Wills, Miss Pearl

Withington, D. L.

Wood, Dr. C. B.

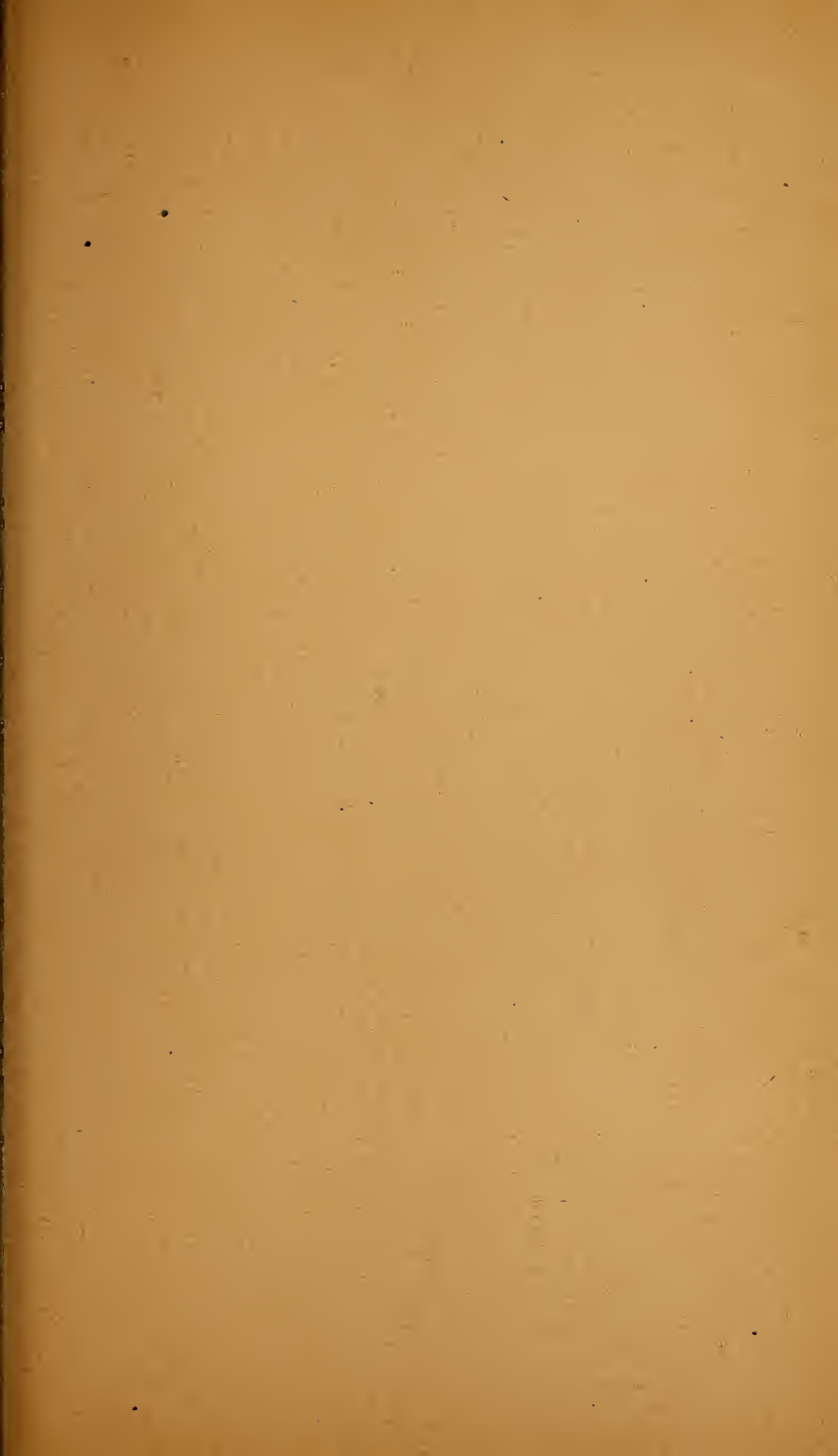
Wood Edgar

Wundenberg, F.

Wodehouse, E. H.

* Deceased.

The names of members deceased are omitted from the list after the expiration of one year.



FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31st, 1906



HONOLULU :
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE CO., LTD.
1907



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1907

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Second Vice-President.....	Rev. Alexander Mackintosh
Third Vice-President.....	Mr. J. S. Emerson
Recording Secretary.....	Hon. W. F. Frear
Corresponding Secretary.....	Mr. W. A. Bryan
Treasurer.....	Mr. W. W. Hall
Librarian.....	Miss Gertrude Baker

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Journal of the

1860

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Council.

Name	Address	Profession
Mr. John Smith	123 Main St.	Teacher
Mr. James Brown	456 Elm St.	Farmer
Mr. Robert Jones	789 Oak St.	Merchant
Mr. William White	101 Pine St.	Physician
Mr. Charles Black	202 Cedar St.	Lawyer
Mr. Thomas Green	303 Birch St.	Engineer
Mr. Henry Lee	404 Spruce St.	Miner
Mr. George Clark	505 Willow St.	Blacksmith
Mr. Benjamin Hall	606 Ash St.	Wagon Maker
Mr. Samuel King	707 Hickory St.	Butcher
Mr. Daniel Scott	808 Poplar St.	Miller
Mr. John Adams	909 Sycamore St.	Shoemaker
Mr. Peter Miller	1010 Walnut St.	Printer
Mr. George Taylor	1111 Chestnut St.	Druggist
Mr. William Wilson	1212 Elm St.	Book Binder
Mr. James Wright	1313 Oak St.	Stationer
Mr. Robert Lewis	1414 Pine St.	Photographer
Mr. Charles Young	1515 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	1616 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	1717 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	1818 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	1919 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	2020 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	2121 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. John Adams	2222 Sycamore St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Peter Miller	2323 Walnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Taylor	2424 Chestnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. William Wilson	2525 Elm St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. James Wright	2626 Oak St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Robert Lewis	2727 Pine St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Charles Young	2828 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	2929 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	3030 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	3131 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	3232 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	3333 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	3434 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. John Adams	3535 Sycamore St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Peter Miller	3636 Walnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Taylor	3737 Chestnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. William Wilson	3838 Elm St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. James Wright	3939 Oak St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Robert Lewis	4040 Pine St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Charles Young	4141 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	4242 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	4343 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	4444 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	4545 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	4646 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	4747 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. John Adams	4848 Sycamore St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Peter Miller	4949 Walnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Taylor	5050 Chestnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. William Wilson	5151 Elm St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. James Wright	5252 Oak St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Robert Lewis	5353 Pine St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Charles Young	5454 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	5555 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	5656 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	5757 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	5858 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	5959 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	6060 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. John Adams	6161 Sycamore St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Peter Miller	6262 Walnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Taylor	6363 Chestnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. William Wilson	6464 Elm St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. James Wright	6565 Oak St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Robert Lewis	6666 Pine St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Charles Young	6767 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	6868 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	6969 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	7070 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	7171 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	7272 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	7373 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. John Adams	7474 Sycamore St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Peter Miller	7575 Walnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Taylor	7676 Chestnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. William Wilson	7777 Elm St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. James Wright	7878 Oak St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Robert Lewis	7979 Pine St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Charles Young	8080 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	8181 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	8282 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	8383 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	8484 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	8585 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	8686 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. John Adams	8787 Sycamore St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Peter Miller	8888 Walnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Taylor	8989 Chestnut St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. William Wilson	9090 Elm St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. James Wright	9191 Oak St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Robert Lewis	9292 Pine St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Charles Young	9393 Cedar St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Thomas King	9494 Birch St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Henry Lee	9595 Spruce St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. George Clark	9696 Willow St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Benjamin Hall	9797 Ash St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Samuel King	9898 Hickory St.	Telegraph Operator
Mr. Daniel Scott	9999 Poplar St.	Telegraph Operator

Constitution of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

ORGANIZED JANUARY 11, 1892.

Article 1. This Society shall be called the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Art. 2. This Society shall have for its object the collection, study and utilization of all material illustrating the Ethnology, Archaeology and History of the Hawaiian Islands.

Art. 3. The members of this Society shall consist of three classes:

1st. Active members, who shall be elected by a majority vote at any regular meeting, pay an initiation fee of two dollars and an annual membership fee of one dollar, and participate by voice and vote in the management of its affairs.

2nd. Life members, who shall be elected by a majority at any regular meeting, and shall have the same rights and privileges as active members, upon the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time.

3rd. Corresponding members, interested in the objects of the Society, and elected by special vote of the Society for services rendered or aid invited. [As amended May 18, 1893, and December 2, 1904.]

Art. 4. The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, Librarian, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer, who shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and together constitute the Board of Managers. [As amended May 18, 1893.]

Art. 5. The annual meeting of this Society shall be held in Honolulu, at such place as the Board may appoint, on or about November 28,* at which time the officers shall be

*Notice has been given of a proposed amendment to be acted on at the next meeting to have the annual meeting in January.

chosen, and annual reports presented by the Librarian, Secretaries and Treasurer. [As amended December 10, 1900.]

Art. 6. Regular meetings of this Society shall be held in the months of January, March and May, on the last Thursday evenings in said months. Other meetings shall be appointed from time to time, as occasion may require, by the Board of Managers, who shall arrange the order of exercises for each meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

Art. 7. This Constitution may be amended by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting, written notice thereof having been given at a previous meeting.

By-Laws.

1. The President shall be the Trustee of the Society to hold the property thereof to its use, and the property of the Society now held, and all future acquisitions shall be vested in him and his successors in office. [Adopted April 7, 1892.]

2. The Corresponding Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian shall constitute a Standing Committee of the Board of Managers, to be known as "The Library Committee," who shall be authorized to purchase books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other historical material, to attend to all details relating to the management of the Library, including the framing of rules and regulations for its use, and also to have general charge of the Library Room of the Society and its contents, and provide for all necessary arrangements connected therewith, provided that no single expenditure be made by the committee exceeding the sum of one hundred dollars, without permission of the Board of Managers. [Adopted November 14, 1893.]

3. Papers read before this Society shall remain the property of the persons who present them. They shall not be published by the Society or placed upon its files without the written consent of such persons. [Adopted November 14, 1892; amended March 3, 1904.]

Minutes of Annual Meeting, Held January 14, 1907,

The Society held its annual meeting in the Library at 8 p. m., January 14, 1907, the President, Prof. W. D. Alexander, in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the last meeting was omitted, as they had been published in the reports of the Society.

The following persons were elected to membership on recommendation of the Board of Managers:

Corresponding member: Miss Mary H. Krout.

Active members: Hon. A. A. Wilder, Judge W. L. Whitney, Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Coombes, Miss M. A. Burbank, Miss Gertrude Baker, Rev. John T. Gulick, Rev. O. H. Gulick.

It was voted on recommendation of the Board of Managers that the Constitution and By-Laws as amended to date, and also a complete list of the papers thus far published by the Society, be printed in the annual report; also that the Librarian and the Treasurer be exempt from payment of annual dues. On a similar recommendation, notice was given that a proposed amendment to the Constitution would be presented for action at the next meeting so as to change the time for holding the annual meeting from November to January.

Dr. C. T. Rogers, who had been engaged to check and supplement the Hawaiian Bibliography prepared by Mr. Howard M. Ballou, exhibited the work as prepared by Mr. Ballou and also lists showing the publications in the library of the Society not included in Mr. Ballou's list, and a list of publications included in Mr. Ballou's list and not found in the library of the Society, showing a voluminous list in each instance.

The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian were read and also a statement prepared by Prof. Alexander as a substitute for the report of the Corresponding Secretary, who was absent. These were accepted and ordered published.

The following persons were elected officers for the coming year:

President.....	Prof. W. D. Alexander
First Vice-President.....	Governor G. R. Carter
Second Vice-President.....	Rev. A. Mackintosh
Third Vice-President.....	Mr. J. S. Emerson
Corresponding Secretary.....	Mr. W. A. Bryan
Recording Secretary.....	Hon. W. F. Frear
Treasurer.....	Mr. W. W. Hall
Librarian.....	Miss Gertrude Baker

An unfinished story of Kahahana, next to the last king of Oahu, by the late Judge Abraham Fornander, the historian, was read by Mr. C. H. Dickey. This was followed by an account of the life of Judge Fornander prepared and read by Prof. Alexander, and also a translation of an account of Judge Fornander's father, Anders Fornander, from an old book in the possession of the descendants of Judge Fornander.

Hon. S. B. Dole read an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the British Commission, held March 12, 1843, containing the examination of Dr. Judd in regard to the coming of the king from Maui to Oahu on the occasion of the secret dispatch of an envoy to foreign countries on the "Albert."

Prof. Alexander read a paper on the funeral rites of Kealiiahonui; also extracts from a pamphlet published in 1816, written by Alexander McKonochie, a commander of the British navy, on considerations on the propriety of establishing a colony in one of the Sandwich Islands.

It was voted to publish in the annual report all of these papers, including the entire pamphlet last mentioned, provided this was consented to by Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, who had kindly loaned the pamphlet, which is very rare.

The meeting then adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.

President's Address.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, it falls to my lot to make the usual statement in regard to matters and things in general relating to Polynesia.

Only two meetings of the society have been held during the past year, viz.: the annual meeting, held January 22, 1906, at which an able paper on the "History of Hawaiian Statute Law" was read by Chief Justice Frear, and another June 9, 1906, at which papers were read by Mr. R. C. Lydecker on the "Archives of Hawaii," and by myself on the "Story of Cleopatra's Barge," and the "Career of a Chilian Pirate in 1822."

As usual, we have to deplore the dearth of contributions from members of our Society. The last number of Thrum's Annual, however (which is edited by an esteemed member of the Society), fully makes up for our deficiencies. The article on "Heiaus and Heiau Sites Throughout the Islands" is an invaluable contribution to Hawaiian Archaeology, and shows that even at this late day the mine is not yet exhausted. I understand that these sites are now being surveyed by Mr. J. F. Stokes for the Trustees of the Bishop Museum.

I have the pleasure of stating that a valuable collection of authentic Hawaiian legends, edited by Mr. T. G. Thrum, will be published next spring.

We are also glad to learn that Dr. N. B. Emerson's work on the "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii" (which treats especially of the cycle of legends and poems connected with the cult of Laka and of Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele) is ready for the press and will soon appear in print. The introduction to it was published in the "American Anthropologist" last June.

Mrs. Day's charming little book, "The Princess of Manoa," will no doubt arouse increased interest in Hawaiian folklore. It has been a subject of regret that so few of the traditions of Kauai have been committed to writing, but this

defect is in a fair way of being remedied, at least in part, by our friends on the ground.

Aside from the Government archives, there is still much valuable material in private hands which is worthy of being translated and published. On former occasions I have referred to the "Life of Kamehameha I," by S. M. Kamakau, printed in the *Kuokoa* in 1868, and to the Fornander collection of manuscripts, which is the property of Hon. C. R. Bishop.

Mr. H. M. Ballou's "Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands" has been undergoing revision by the author, and also by Dr. C. T. Rodgers, who has compared it with the books in the library of this Society. No pains can be too great to make it as accurate and complete as possible before sending it to the press.

Mr. Silvanus Tingley, an uncle of Mr. Ballou, has presented the Society with a MS. book, containing copies of all the references to these Islands contained in the old log-books preserved in the Salem Institute, at Salem, Mass.

As I read a paper before the Society, July 13, 1905, on the conditions existing in Southern Polynesia, I beg leave to add a few items of news received from that quarter.

The New Zealand Census of 1906 gives the number of Maoris as 47,731, including 3,938 half-castes living as Maoris, showing an increase of full-blooded Maoris of 3,783 since 1901, while between 1896 and 1901 there had been an increase of 3659.

From Tonga we hear that the two Tongan exiles, Josateki, ex-Premier, and Fotu, ex-Minister of Finance (formerly deported by the British Government), were taken back from Fiji on the 30th of May last, after an enforced absence of 18 months.

It is gratifying to learn that the Cook Islands, which are now a dependency of New Zealand, have been surveyed, numerous trig. stations having been located on them, and that *kuleanas* have been assigned by long leases to every native family.

As the fee of the land is owned by the *ariki*s, or chiefs,

these homesteads are leased and not patented. As in Tonga, no land can be held by a foreigner, except upon a lease approved by the Government. The Commissioner-Resident writes that he has received many applications from white men of small means, residing in Europe and South Africa, inquiring as to their chances of success as settlers in the Cook Islands. To these the Commissioner has replied that they will have to practice the virtues of industry, self-denial and perseverance for eight years in order to attain to a competence, the only island productions that bring ready money there being cocoanuts and bananas.

It is evidently no place for those expecting "to get-rich-quick."

Of Samoa I shall only say that it has been very fortunate in its present Governor, Dr. Solf, and that it is no doubt the best-governed of all the German colonies. We have no reason to despair of the future of the Polynesian race.

Report of Treasurer

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In Account with W. W. Hall, Treasurer, for Year Ending
December 31, 1906.

Receipts.

1906.

Jan. 1	Amount cash brought forward.....	\$ 17.26
Dec. 31	Drawn from Savings Bank Account.....	325.00
	Received from annual dues.....	142.00
	“ from sale of pamphlets.....	3.00
	“ interest on McBryde Bonds.....	120.00
		<hr/>
		\$607.26

Disbursements.

1906.

Paid	Miss H. Hillebrand's salary for 1905 and 1906....	\$200.00
“	for printing notices of Annual Meeting.....	4.50
“	janitor for services and extra work.....	34.50
“	for collecting dues.....	4.40
“	for book poison.....	4.75
“	for stamps and postal cards.....	9.30
“	for Thrum's Annual.....	.75
“	for 500 note heads.....	2.25
“	for 500 envelopes and 1,000 slips.....	5.00
“	for 2 Vols. of the Polynesian—1851, 1852.....	13.00
“	for printing 500 copies of Annual Report.....	79.20
“	for portraits of Boki and Liliha and frames.....	9.66
“	for binding Hawaii Herald and Hilo Tribune....	3.50
“	for books	6.95
“	for printing 500 copies of Paper No. 13.....	49.50

“ Dr. C. T. Rodgers for copying and arranging material, &c.		55.00
Deposited in Savings Bank (Bishop's).....		120.00
Balance to New Account.....		5.00
		<hr/>
		\$607.26
		<hr/>

Amount in Savings Bank.....\$333.00

E. & O. Ex.

W. W. HALL, Treasurer.

Honolulu, January 1, 1907.

Report of Librarian.

To the Officers and Members
of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Gentlemen and Ladies:--I have the honor to submit the following report for the year 1906:

Most of the work done during that time consisted in classifying and making a shelf-list of the bound books on the shelves and writing the new numbers on the old catalogue card. The work is about half finished and can easily be completed in another year.

I would also recommend the rebinding of some old newspapers, especially a set of the Polynesian, so far as we have them. I regret that we have not an unbroken file. Many of these old volumes should be preserved in this way, as they are in bad condition.

But two new books have been added to the catalogue, viz.: "Hawaiian Yesterdays," by Dr. Henry Lyman, and vol. 2 of "Observations of a Naturalist in the Pacific," by Dr. Guppy.

Our membership numbers 113 at the close of this year. Six new members have joined the Society since the last report. Of these, two have died, in addition to the death of two of our old members.

As the librarian of your Society, may I express my appreciation of your unfailing courtesy and kindness during the three and a half years I have held the position. I can not wish my successor any pleasanter relations than mine have been with you.

Respectfully submitted,

HELEN L. HILLEBRAND,
Librarian.

Story of Kahahana.

By Abraham Fornander.

Within the wonderful and often charming domain of history, from classic to modern times, among so-called cultured and so-called barbarous peoples, few episodes are marked with greater pathos, or, if better known, would elicit greater interest, than the fall and death of Kahahana, King of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian Islands, about the years 1783-85.

Kahahana was high born and royally connected. His father was Elani, one of the highest nobles in the Ewa District on Oahu, a descendent, on the Maweke-Lakona line, of the ancient Lords of Lihue. His mother was Kaionuilalahai, a daughter of Kalanikahimakeialii, and a sister of Peleioholani, King of Oahu, and a cousin of Kahekili, King of Maui. Through his mother's connections with the royal house of Maui, Kahahana was brought up from his earliest youth on Maui, and became a special favorite with his uncle, Kahekili. Educated in all the athletic and warlike exercises which it became a chief of that period to know, Kahahana was remarkable for his personal beauty and manly bearing. Handsome, brave and gallant, he was the idol of the Maui court and the pride of the Oahu aristocracy, his father's peers, who chafed under the heavy yoke of their own king, Peleioholani, and had but small confidence in his son and prospective successor, Kumahana.

Though Kahekili was too reserved, some say too morose, he often shared in the festivities and entertainments which, through the presence of his sisters, his nieces and other relatives, had made his court at Wailuku, where he mostly resided, a gathering place and a focus for the gallant and gay of all the other isles in the group; yet Kahahana was his Alter Ego, his Rex Convivii, whose prudence and popularity harmonized, or at least neutralized, the rival pretensions of Kahekili's half sister, Namahana, to be the leading star and

the oracle of fashion among the Hawaiian Noblesse at her lately-acquired domain in Waiehu.

At these princely reunions, these royal feasts, whether at Waiehu or at Wailuku, the palm of beauty and of womanly grace was by universal accord awarded to Kekuapoiulaokalani, the youngest sister of Namahana and of Kekuamanoha, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. The legends and narratives handed down from that time have but one expression of her surpassing beauty and winning charms, and the present writer has had the fortune to meet more than one octogenarian Hawaiian who remembers seeing her while still, as Queen of Oahu, she was as remarkable for her incomparable beauty as in the days, ten or twelve years before, when Kahahana first wooed and won her young affections.

Between Kahahana and Kekuapoi it was an affair of the heart. They loved each other like the commonest mortals, and, as at that time no political or social considerations of "convenience" stood in the way, the union was allowed by Kahekili, whose wards they may be said to have been. They loved each other and, according to the custom and institutions of the land, they became man and wife. Nothing more natural, simple or straightforward. But the anomalous part of their married life was that though in those days of social as well as political profligacy, when a chief or chiefess took as many wives or husbands as he or she fancied or could maintain, yet Kahahana and Kekuapoi remained true to each other with undivided affection to the end of their lives.

In A. D. 1770, Peleioholani, son of Kualii, hereditary sovereign of the Island of Oahu, hereditary lord or several districts on Southern Kauai, and, by the grace of his God and the strength of his spear, master and conqueror of the Island of Molokai, died at the advanced age of ninety and upward, and was succeeded by his son, Kumahana.

The character of Peleioholani has been variously described in the traditions that have come down from his time. The Hawaii and Maui traditions or reminiscences of Peleioholani describe him as proud, arrogant, overbearing, proud even be-

yond the limits of the most exacting Hawaiian etiquette. Molokai traditions acknowledge his prowess as a warrior, but are merciless in their condemnation of him as a tyrant whose cruelty went even a step beyond what those cruel times considered admissible. Against these two sources of information we have the Oahu traditions, which, while they acknowledge that he was proud, and justly so, because no bluer blood flowed in anybody's veins than those of himself and his sister, Kukuiaimakalani, assert that his cruelty towards the Molokai chiefs was but a just punishment for their wanton and unprovoked murder of his daughter, Keelanihonuaiakama. But whatever his reputation on the other islands, on Oahu he was feared as a stern monarch, but also respected as a just man, under whom the husbandman prospered, priests and artisans were protected, and the naturally turbulent character of the feudal nobles kept under salutary though at times summary restraint. As sovereign of his island he made the customary circuits for political and religious purposes, at stated times; but his favorite residence, when not otherwise occupied, was at Waikiki in the Kona District, where a perfect forest of cocoanut trees enclosed his dwelling or palace on three sides, and the pleasant grove of kou trees which his father had planted threw its delicious shade on the heated beach.

Stern but just, Peleioholani's reign was a blessing to his Kingdom of Oahu, which probably never had stood higher in population, wealth and resources than at the time of his death, since the days of Mailekukahi.

The contrast between Peleioholani and his son, Kumahana, had no doubt been apparent to thoughtful men long before the black "Kapa" covered the mortal remains of the father. Chiefs and commoners alike knew the man to whom their fealty would now be pledged. Indolent of body, weak, fickle, and avaricious of mind, Kumahana was a failure as a sovereign, and it did not take long to ripen the public mind to that conviction. Zealous and loyal as the Oahu chiefs had always been to the Kakuhihewa family, whom for six generations they had looked upon as their representative on the Oahu throne,

yet the weakness and extravagancies of Kumahana were enough in three short years to alienate chiefs, priests and commoners to such an extent that when Pupuka, Elani, Makaioula and other chiefs, in conjunction with the High Priest, Kaopulupulu, called a public meeting of chiefs and commoners, to consider the situation of the country and for the avowed purpose of deposing Kumahana, not a voice was heard nor a spear raised in defence of the unfortunate man, who then and there was publicly decreed incompetent and unworthy to rule the Oahu kingdom. That meeting and the manner of the execution if its decree find few parallels in the most civilized of modern countries, where the people had to resort to revolution to protect the best interests of their country and their own well being. It was a public declaration of the National "Non Possumus" any longer to suffer the rule of Kumahana. Its execution, through the wonderful unanimity of the national voice, required neither "National Guards," nor spears nor clubs, nor barricades to enforce it. It was a veritable "Vox populi, Vox Dei," and the only trait of wisdom recorded of Kumahana was that he quietly submitted to the inevitable and left for Kauai, where the relations of his mother and sister provided a refuge for him and his family at Waimea. And to the lasting credit of those, whose kindred only six years later were stigmatized by civilized Europe as "Barbarians," "Savages," "Cannibals," not a drop of blood was shed in this mighty upheaval of an entire people.

Had I the powers of a Walter Scott to give the reader a description of that remarkable assembly of Oahu notables that then and there convened for high national objects, I gladly would do so. I would describe the preliminary meeting of the district chiefs, the "Aimoku," with the High Priest, "Kahunanui," presiding. I would tell of the despatch of the High Priest's messenger or herald, "Elele," around the island, convoking the chiefs and commoners to the projected assembly, a kind of Hawaiian "Fiery Cross," speeding from feudal hall to lowliest hamlet; his functions, his privileges, his insignia of office, his formula of convocation. I would describe the

meeting of those thus convened; the appearance of the chiefs dressed in their "Ahuula," feather cloak, their "Mahiole," feather helmets, their "Niho-Palaoa," necklace of whale's tooth and human hair, their "Kupee" or "Pupu-Hoaka," bracelets of glittering precious shells, carrying their "Pololu," long spears, in their right hand, their "Pahoa," dagger of hardened wood, in their "Malo" or belt, and their "Newa" or war-club looped up under their cloak. I would describe the sturdy "Makaainana," the commoner or freeman of the land, mustering behind their chiefs, armed with their "Ihe," or Javelin, and "Maa," slings. But abler hands at some not far distant day will doubtless weave a pleasant tale from those materials; and I proceed with the main story. * * * * *

The above story was left unfinished by the author.

For further information see Fornander's "Polynesian Race," pp. 217-225, and p. 290.

Also "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," pp. 122 and 123.

Obituary of Abraham Fornander.

From the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of November 2,
A. D. 1887.

"Abraham Fornander was born November 4, 1812. (His father died when he was only ten years old.) He first came to the Islands in 1838, and after a short stay went away on a whaling cruise in a whaler, returning in 1842.

"He then commenced to plant coffee in Nuuanu Valley, for Dr. Rooke. In 1847 he was engaged in surveying Dr. Rooke's lands. The same year he was married in Honolulu to Pinao Alanakapu, a chiefess from the Island of Molokai, who died in 1857. They had four children, three girls and one boy. The late Mrs. Catherine Brown was the only one that survived him. Two years later, at the height of the gold fever, he went to California, but returned in three or four months, not well satisfied with his trip.

"In 1852 he was editing the Weekly Argus, with Matthew K. Smith as publisher. He succeeded C. G. Hopkins as editor of the Polynesian, which position he held until 1864, when he was appointed Circuit Judge of Maui. In 1865 Kamehameha V appointed him Inspector-General of Schools, and in May, 1871, he was re-appointed Circuit Judge of Maui, which position he held until the latter part of 1886. On December 28 of that year he was appointed Fourth Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

"He died November 1, 1887, from cancer of the mouth."

It may truly be said that he did more to preserve the history and traditions of the Hawaiian race than any other man. It was his life work, and though his theory about the origin of the Polynesian race may not gain general acceptance by scientific men in time to come, yet his three volumes will continue to be a store-house of reliable information on the history and folk lore of Hawaii nei.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

Biography of Rev. Anders Fornander, D.D.

Translated by L. M. Vetlesen from an old book in possession of the descendants of the late Hon. Abraham Fornander, entitled, "Officials of the Parishes and Institutions of Learning in the Diocese of Kalmar, from Ancient until the Present Times," Vol. I, published in Kalmar, Sweden, 1836.

Anders Fornander, born in the parsonage of Runsten, Island of Oeland, April 19, 1778, his father, Rev. Abraham Fornander, D.D., being minister of that parish, his mother being Margreta Johanna Meurling.

Having laid a good foundation for his studies under the tutelage of his learned father, he entered the gymnasium of Kalmar, April 9, 1791, and by his extraordinary ability soon gained the foremost position among his schoolmates, even to the extent of at times assisting in the instruction of the lower grades. In the year 1795 he left this seat of learning and matriculated at the University of Lund on September 1.

Although compelled, during his attendance at the university, to divide his time between the private instruction of others and his own studies, yet he pursued the latter with such diligence that in 1797 he had fully qualified for the degree of Doctor Philos., which he obtained on the 22nd of June, 1799. October 16 of the same year he was appointed Prof. Extraordinary at the gymnasium of Kalmar. The following year, on January 22, he was appointed Substitute Lecturer of History, which position he filled during his whole term of service at the college.

During the same year, on February 1, he qualified for the regular professorate, but through some obstacle arising did not receive his commission for this chair until March 14, 1801.

Was ordained a minister in Kalmar, February 11, 1804; re-

ceived his commission as "Stadskomminister" (1) July 16 of that year. Entered upon his duties May 1, 1805. During the year 1807 he again attended the Academy of Lund, passing his examination as *Candidatus Theologiae* (D.D.) before the Theological Faculty there on the 9th of May. Defended an academic treatise of his on the 20th of the same month, and on June 3 delivered his argument (Disputants) on another thesis, "*pro Candidatura Theologica*," all with the highest honors, after which he returned to his native place and resumed his duties at the Cathedral. Underwent "Pastor al Examen" (the final examination before entering upon the duties of a parish priest or curate) on March 20, 1808.

Received royal letters patent as pastor of Gerdslösa parish, April 29, 1809, and assumed office May 1, 1810.

In happy quietude he here, during the latter years of his incumbency, devoted the leisure moments snatched from his more important official duties to the compilation of the notes on the History of the Clergy of the Diocese, to which allusion has been made in the preface to this book, and which forms the basis thereof.

Although by his own wishes side-tracked from a more brilliant career, he was forgotten neither by his superiors or his fellow-citizens.

In 1815 he was made "Prost" (2) of his own parishes; a delegate to the Riksdag (Swedish parliament) from his diocese in the same year, as well as in 1817 and 1823. Received the title, honors and dignity of Chaplain to the Royal Court on April 26, 1817. In 1818 was called by the Grand Church Assembly in Stockholm to deliver his probationary sermon for the vacancy as Primate Pastor. Was a member of the Royal Patriotic Society, the Society Pro Fide & Christianismo, the Evangelical Society, the Friends of the Destitute, etc., etc.

Died at the parsonage of Gerdslösa, after a brief illness, February 8, 1828. His interesting biography is published in the Kalmar Diocesan Gazette Nos. 10 and 11, 1828.

Married, on the 22nd of May, 1810, Karin Fornander, the daughter of a merchant in Kalmar, Theodor Fornander, and Anna Barbro Fornander. By this wife, who is born February 17, 1788, Dr. Fornander had eight children, four of whom died in infancy. Those surviving are: Theodor Karl, born April 7, 1811; Abraham, born November 4, 1812; Margreta Johanna, born October 13, 1821, and Anna Martha, born 1823.

Publications: Diss. Acad. de Regina Austri. 1 Reg. 10: Luc. 11:31 Praes. Prof. Math. Norberg Lundae, 1797. Diss. pro Laurea: Observationum Zoologicarum fasciculum. Praes. Pr. A. J. Retzio 1b., 1798. Theses pro Adjunctura Gvmnasii, Kalmar 1800. De Zoroastre et Codice, qui vulgo ei tribuitur, Zend-Avesta, Lundae 1807. Dissertatio exegetico-Theologica pro Candidatura Theol. de illustr. Spiritus Sancti dono Apostolis, Festo Pentecostes, collato. Act 2. Pr. Prof. J. J. Hellman, Lundae 1807. Address in memoriam Colonel J. B. Skytte, Kalmar 1810. Do. Rector Joh. Segrelius of Thorslunda 1812 and Rector J. Lindestrom of Hulterstad 1815. Address before the Bible Society in Kalmar 1821.

Translation of Note, page 635.

Anders Fornander, 1810-28.

His son, Theodor Karl, is a doctor of medicine and Abraham is a captain in North America.—(The United States.)

Translator's Note:

(1) "Stadskomminister" is an ecclesiastical office corresponding to curate, "assistant to the pastor."

(2) "Prost" corresponds to the office of Rector.

The Reformed Church of Luther is the State Church of Sweden, and the clergy are all appointed under Royal Letters Patent or Commissions, signed by the King, who is ex officio Head of the Church.

In the Preface of this book the data collected by Dr. Fornander are referred to at considerable length as one of the principal sources of information in compiling the work, although they were left unfinished by the sudden death of Dr. Fornander, and were by his widow turned over to the author a few years after his death.

Minutes of Meeting of Commissioners held 12th March, 1843.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Shortly after the provisional cession of the Hawaiian Islands to Lord George Paulet, the "Hooikaika," alias "Albert," was dispatched by the British Commission to San Blas, Mexico, to carry Mr. Alexander Simpson with letters for the British Foreign Office: As stated in the "Brief History of the Hawaiian People,"

"It was of vital importance to the king that he should be represented in London at this critical juncture. Accordingly, Mr. J. F. B. Marshall (who acted as Ladd & Co.'s messenger) was secretly commissioned as His Majesty's envoy, and took passage in the same vessel with Mr. Simpson without exciting any suspicion on his part.

"A canoe had been previously sent with a picked crew from a distant part of Oahu, to notify the king and premier, who came down from Maui in a schooner, landed at Waikiki by night, read and signed the documents, which had been prepared by Dr. Judd, and immediately returned to Wailuku. The 'Victoria' sailed March 17 for Valparaiso with letters for Admiral Thomas."

Office of the British Commission for the Government of the
Sandwich Islands, Honolulu.

March 12, 1843.

A report having been circulated, which report was authenticated by several respectable inhabitants, that the King had

arrived from Mohea on Saturday last, and had given interviews to the Governor, Messrs. Judd, Hooper (American Consul), Dudoit (the late French Consul), and others, and that several documents had been placed before him, which he signed, and that he had left Honolulu without having had a personal interview with the Right Honorable Lord George Paulet, the Commissioners determined that the Governor of the Fort shall be summoned to appear before them, with Dr. Judd, to give an explanation relative to the same. Dr. Judd and the Governor having appeared, they were examined as follows:

Dr. Judd was asked whether the King arrived at these Islands on Saturday last, and whether he had an interview with him, with several others, without Lord George Paulet's knowledge?

Dr. Judd replied that when the King went away, after the Provisional Cession for the Sandwich Islands had been completed, he stated that a vessel should be sent for him, so that he might be at Honolulu before the departure of the schooner "Albert," in order to complete dispatches, giving a full account of affairs agreeably to the terms of cession. He had been on the water five days, in consequence of calms and contrary winds; he therefore prepared to land at Waititi, where he could remain uninterrupted. This was the business of the King, and for the purpose he came, and, having accomplished it, he returned immediately. The King saw no consul, and no foreigner, except myself and Mr. Cook, who went with the young chiefs to make a call. The King left his business at Wailuku in a state that required the immediate attention of himself in person, and in consequence preferred returning immediately. I advised the King to remain at Waititi, because by so doing I believed he would not be molested by people calling to see him, and that he might be left alone. The King was not told the Right Hon. Lord Geo. Paulet did not wish to see him, or that a man had been killed by Mr. Booth!

Did not the King land after he had embarked on board?

Yes! he did! I was not aware that he had gone on board; he came on shore again on his own free will!

The Governor was then asked:

Were you present the whole time with the King while at Waititi?

Yes!

What persons visited the King during his stay there?

Dr. Judd, Mr. Cook, and the children of the chiefs!

Did the American Consul or Mr. Dudoit call on the King?

No! No other foreigners were there with the exception of Dr. Judd!

Were any chiefs there?

None!

Was the King informed that a native had been killed by Mr. Booth?

No!

Who informed you of the arrival of the King off the coast?

Some of my own kanakas!

Why did you tell the 1st Lieut. of H. B. M. ship "Carysfort" that the canoe belonging to the King was down to the Pearl River for poi, when she went alongside of the "Victoria," and came into harbor with her?

I had sent her down three days, and was going to do so again.

The Governor then retired.

(Here follows the balance of this day's proceedings, which has no bearing on the foregoing.)

(Signed)

GEO. PAULET,
JOHN E. FRERE.

G. P. Judd refused assent to the minutes of this day.

The Funeral Rites of Prince Kealiiahonui.

The funeral rites of Kealiiahonui, in 1849, are a striking example of the survival of pagan superstitions long after the introduction of Christianity into these Islands.

This Kealiiahonui was the son of Kaumualii, the last King of Kauai, and of Kapuaamohu (w), a Kauai princess of the highest rank. He was, therefore, of the bluest blood in the realm. In addition to this he was considered to be the handsomest chief in the Islands, and was proficient in all athletic exercises. He was six feet six inches in height and finely proportioned; a model for a sculptor.

In 1821 he was married to the Queen Regent, Kaahumanu, whose matrimonial chains were said by Stewart "not to have been altogether silken." After her death, in 1832, he married Kekauonohi, a granddaughter of Kamehameha I through his son Kahoanoku-Kinau. Her mother was Wahinepio, a sister of Kalanimoku.

It is only too evident that Kealiiahonui was kept in the background by the jealousy of the Hawaii chiefs. After Governor Kaikioewa's death, however, in 1840, his wife, Kekauonohi, was for some years Governess of Kauai. The late Levi Haalelea was latterly employed as their private secretary and land agent.

Kealiiahonui died at Honolulu, June 23, 1849, in what is known as the "Haalelea House." Haalelea soon afterwards married his widow, who died two years later. There was a famous lawsuit over the genuineness of an alleged will of Kealiiahonui (leaving all his lands to his widow), which has twice been renewed since. See Vol. VI Hawaiian Reports, page 1.

From the "Polynesian" newspaper of the time we learn that he was born August 17, 1800, and that his public funeral took place in Honolulu, June 30, 1849. A niece of his, Kapule by

name, who was still living at a very advanced age when this was written, faithfully attended him during his last sickness and death. She was cited as a witness in the lawsuit over his will. Her mother was the daughter of King Kaumualii by Naluahi, a woman of low rank, and her father was an American sailor, "Ako," who is supposed to have been lost at sea. She and her husband were "Kahus" of Kealiihonui, and had a recognized right to be consulted in the disposition of his remains.

It seems that by Kekauonohi's orders the coffin containing her late husband's remains was removed to Puuloa, Ewa, with the view of having it afterwards taken out to sea and there sunk. It was temporarily deposited in a cavern in the coral limestone back of Puuloa, which has long been used for a burial place, and has lately been closed up.

Kapule strongly objected to the plan of sinking the coffin in the sea, and delayed its execution for a considerable time. At last certain chiefs from Honolulu paid her a visit and succeeded in overcoming her opposition. During the following night she and her husband, with one or two assistants, removed the outer coffin, which they afterwards buried somewhere near Puuloa.

In order to test the truth of her story, at the instance of her lawyer, about 1892, the spot was found by her direction, and part of the coffin was dug up, with the brass plate on it in good preservation. There is a peculiar superstition among the native Hawaiians in regard to the disposal of the outer coffin in such cases, of which we have had illustrations in recent times. In their opinion, if such a coffin is left unburied it bodes death to some near relative of the deceased. During the same night they took out the sacred bones, the "Unihipili," which they "Hunakele'd," or concealed, according to the ancient custom. I am informed that they were sunk in the sea.

Kapule took an ear ring and a finger ring from the body, which she preserved for a long time as relics of her master.

A day or two after this the coffin was taken on a canoe out

to the deep sea outside of Pearl Harbor, to a spot five miles out, known to fishermen as "Kamole ia," to be sunk, by six brothers from Kauai who were "Kahus," or retainers, of the dead chief. A son of one of them, Simona, a well-known fisherman, who died a few years ago at Puuloa, gave this account to the late Jas. I. Dowsett.

Two men had been selected as victims, "Moe puu," to be put to death on the occasion, that they might accompany their chief into the other world. But when the time came only one of them, Kanepio by name, could be found; the other, Opiopio, having absconded. He was taken out to sea in the canoe, but when the time came for despatching him, one of the brothers, Kauhini, made a strong plea for his life. He said that the order of their chief was that two should die, but not that either should die without the other. "Either both or neither," he said. He pressed this argument so strongly that he carried his point, and the coffin, with the remains of the last Prince of Kauai, was committed to the deep without any attendant to bear him company.

My informant relates that the coffin floated at first, on which a superstitious boatman said it was because they had not made the human sacrifice commanded by the chief. Then Kauhini, raising his paddle, smashed the glass case over the face of the corpse, upon which the coffin filled and sank to the bottom of the sea.

The method of burial was closely connected with the belief in "Aumakuas," or ancestral deities. In this case the "Aumakuas" of Kealiiiahonui's family may have been shark gods or other marine deities, and the object of sinking his body in the sea was probably to introduce him into the society of these powerful spirits, where he might exert his influence to befriend members of the family in times of danger upon the sea.

In the same way the bones of other chiefs have been thrown into the fiery lake of Halemaumau, that they might join the company of Pele and her numerous family of volcanic deities

W. D. ALEXANDER.

Considerations on the Propriety of Establishing a Colony on one of the Sandwich Islands.

Being the Substance of a Memoir submitted to the Consideration of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for War and Colonies and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

By **Alexander M'Konochie, Esq.**
Commander Royal Navy.

Edinburgh:
Printed by Walker and Greig.
1816.

PREFATORY NOTICE.

The memoir, of which the following pages profess to contain the substance, I was induced to submit to the high authorities I have indicated by the consideration, that the details respecting the commerce and navigation of the South Sea, on which a portion of its representations are founded, while they might be new even to some professional men, were likely to be utterly unknown to all others. In now giving it this form, it is very far indeed from my intention, either to anticipate or appeal from the decision which may be passed on its merits where it is thus lodged. On the contrary, whatever it may be, I shall

bow to it with submission and respect; but as, amidst the numerous demands on the time and attention of Ministry, the unsupported manuscript memoir of an obscure individual may well be overlooked, I am anxious to lay my plans and wishes before my friends, whose countenance and support may bestow on them a consequence I cannot myself confer, and whose influence, should they approve of them, may assist the solicitations for employment in their execution, with which I have presumed to accompany my address to His Royal Highness's Ministers.

With this view, and this only, I have thrown off a very few copies of these Considerations for my own use; nor do I fear the additional publicity they may thus obtain, for they lead to no proposal, the execution of which will demand secrecy on the part of Government, none against which any foreign power could pretend to remonstrate, however great may be the advantages to this country which its adoption would seem likely to confer. On the contrary, its success, should it ever be undertaken, must depend much on its reception in the mercantile world, and the speculation to which its publicity may give birth.

In delivering these pages to the friends and brother officers to whom I shall communicate them, I must equally solicit their indulgence for their execution, and their candid interpretation of the motives which have led me to the attempt.

ALEX. M'KONOCHIE.

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

That the views of the Government of the United States are fixed on the rebellion of the Spanish Colonies in their neighborhood, will not appear doubtful, when we consider many particulars in their conduct, the supplies which they covertly afford them, and, still more, the avidity with which, even in

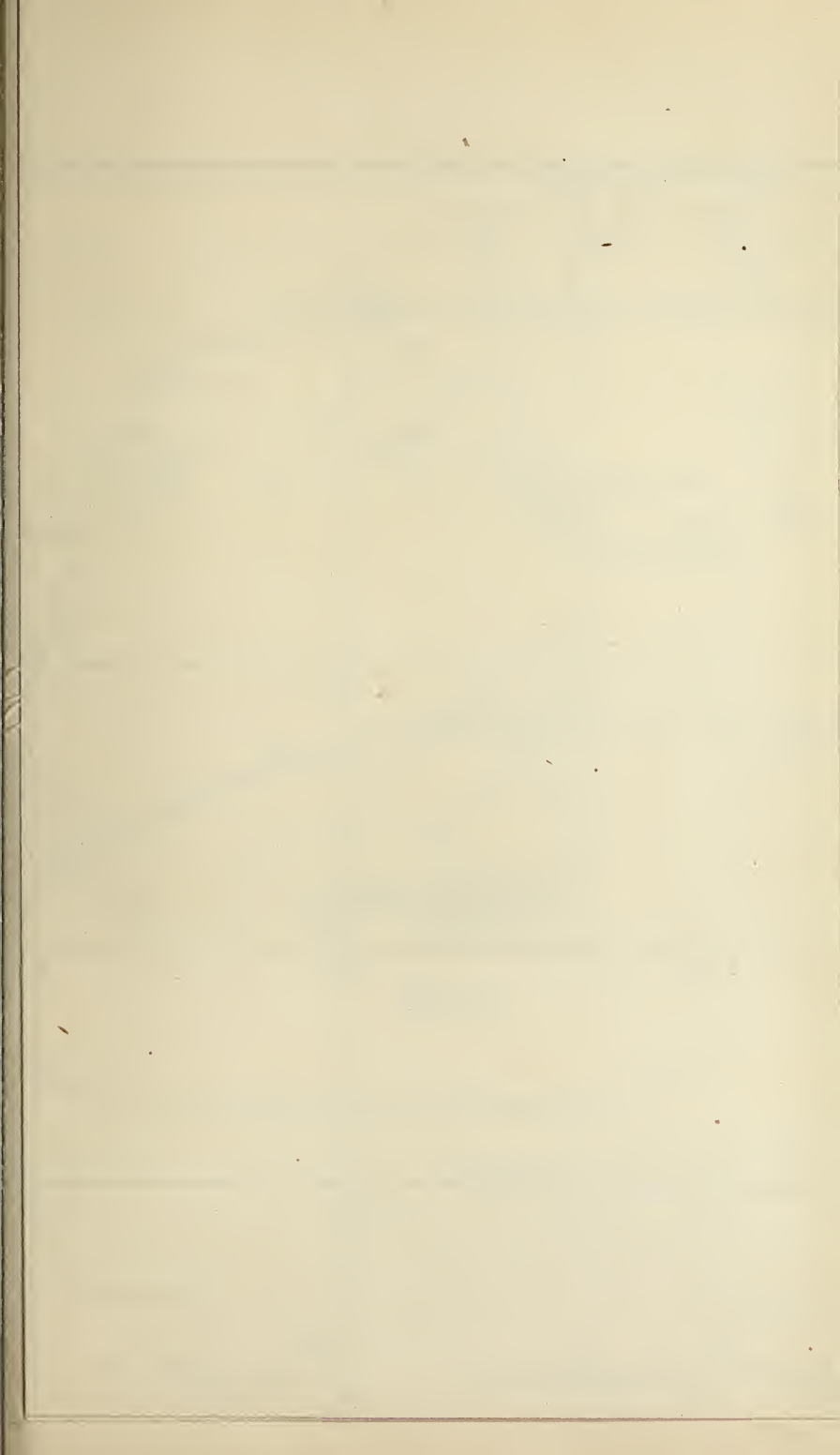
their present distressed circumstances of finance, they would seem to court a rupture with old Spain. The vain and empty acknowledgment of their sovereignty over West Florida, would not alone seduce them to this deviation from the Pacific line of policy best suited to their situation, were it not reinforced by the prospect of other, and more considerable advantages, connected with the right of openly assisting the insurgent colonists, and of profiting by their success.

These advantages are indeed not illusory, nor the prospect of their acquisition vague and uncertain, should the present contest end either in the emancipation of these colonies, or in a compromise in favor of their trade. The communication with the South Sea, which is now maintained by a painful and laborious passage round Cape Horn, would be abridged by the acquisition of a free passage for commerce over the isthmus of Panama, in a degree which would seem to warrant even the most sanguine anticipations. The distance to China would receive a proportional diminution, at the same time that the equivalents, furs and specie, which are offered in the Chinese markets for their commodities, would be presented under advantages which would very peculiarly contrast with the circuitous and expensive route by which our East India Company convey thither the same articles. The supply of Europe with East India produce must be speedily engrossed by a commerce thus supported; nor should we have any reasonable prospect of success in competition with it, unless either by a precarious share in its advantages, dependent on a thousand casualties of favor, interest or ambition, or by an appeal to that last resort, the force of arms, to which, without an established port on the spot, we should apply under very serious disadvantages, and with very alarming responsibility. Success might, for a time, and at very considerable expense, sustain our own more circuitous line of commerce; but the maritime resources of the western shores of America are considerable, and would be peculiarly pointed against us by the habits, the animosity, and the policy of the United States; nor would the consequences of failure probably rest in the Pacific Ocean.

While such is the alluring prospect on which the views of the Government of the United States would seem to be fixed, we, on the other hand, are precluded by the peculiarity of our circumstances, from interfering in opposition to them on the spot to which they are most immediately directed. In the contest between Spain and her colonies, we can neither league our fortunes with the feeble exertions of the mother country, nor, consistently with our alliance with her, and still more with the benefits we have so recently conferred on her, can we imitate the perfidious policy of France towards ourselves in 1778, which, in the importation of republican principles into her own bosom, was visited by so severe a measure of chastisement on her head. But though thus precluded from opposing them in their immediate direction, it is both imperiously our interest, and most unquestionably our right, to prepare to cope with them in their ulterior operation.

It is the object of the following considerations to shew, that such preparation will materially consist in establishing a colony in the Sandwich Islands; while, at the same time, such a settlement, even if not required in that point of view, would seem to hold out to us the prospect of commercial advantages of the most important and alluring nature. The interests of this country would therefore seem equally connected with it, whatever may be the result of the present contest in New Spain; while upon the question of our right to take such a step, in addition to our claim on the Sandwich Islands arising from priority of discovery, the usual foundation of such claims, we superadd the voluntary and solemn cession of the sovereignty of Owyhee to this country, which Captain Vancouver received in 1794 from Tamaah-maah, its supreme chief; a transaction precisely similar to that on which Spain so long founded her claim on Nootka, to the prejudice of the more ordinary plea.

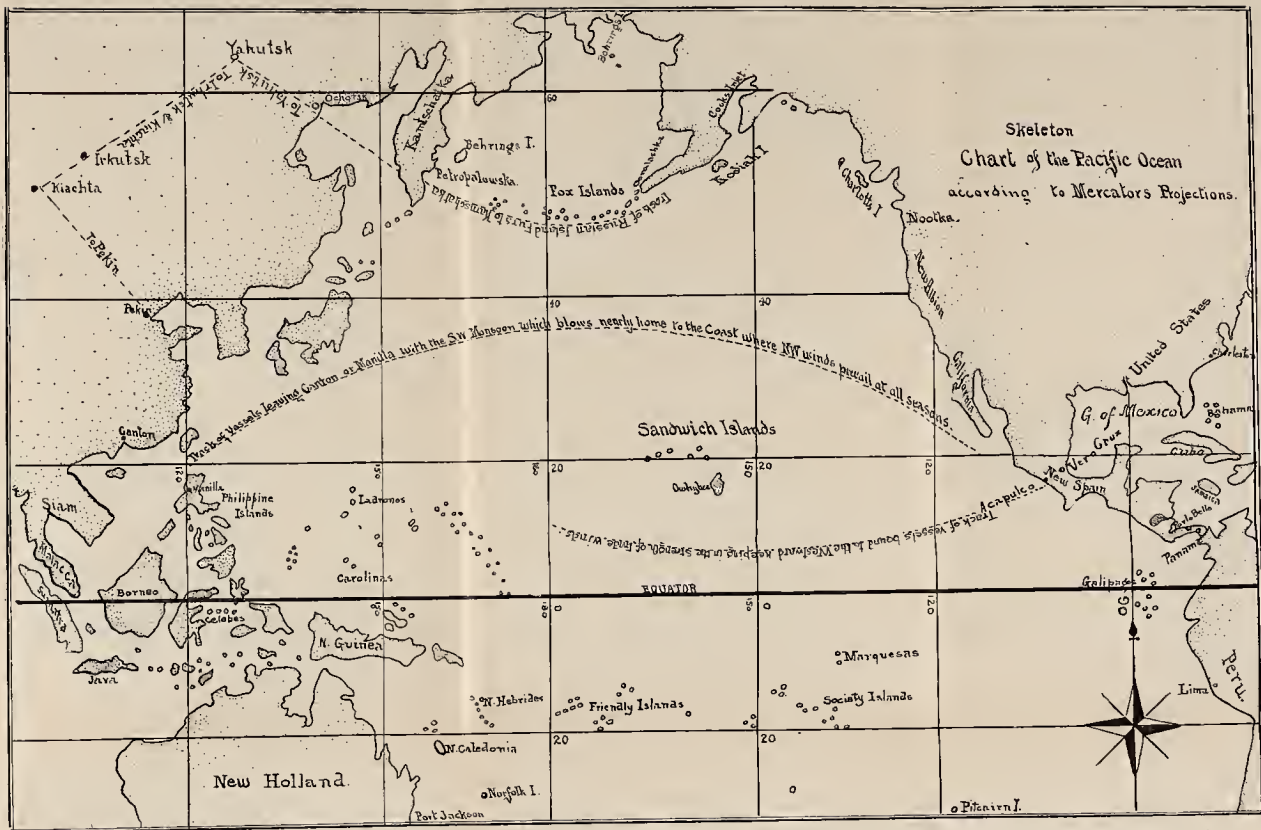
The arguments by which I would endeavor to recommend the settlement I have thus the honor to propose, naturally divide themselves into a consideration of the Military and Commercial Advantages which would seem connected with it.



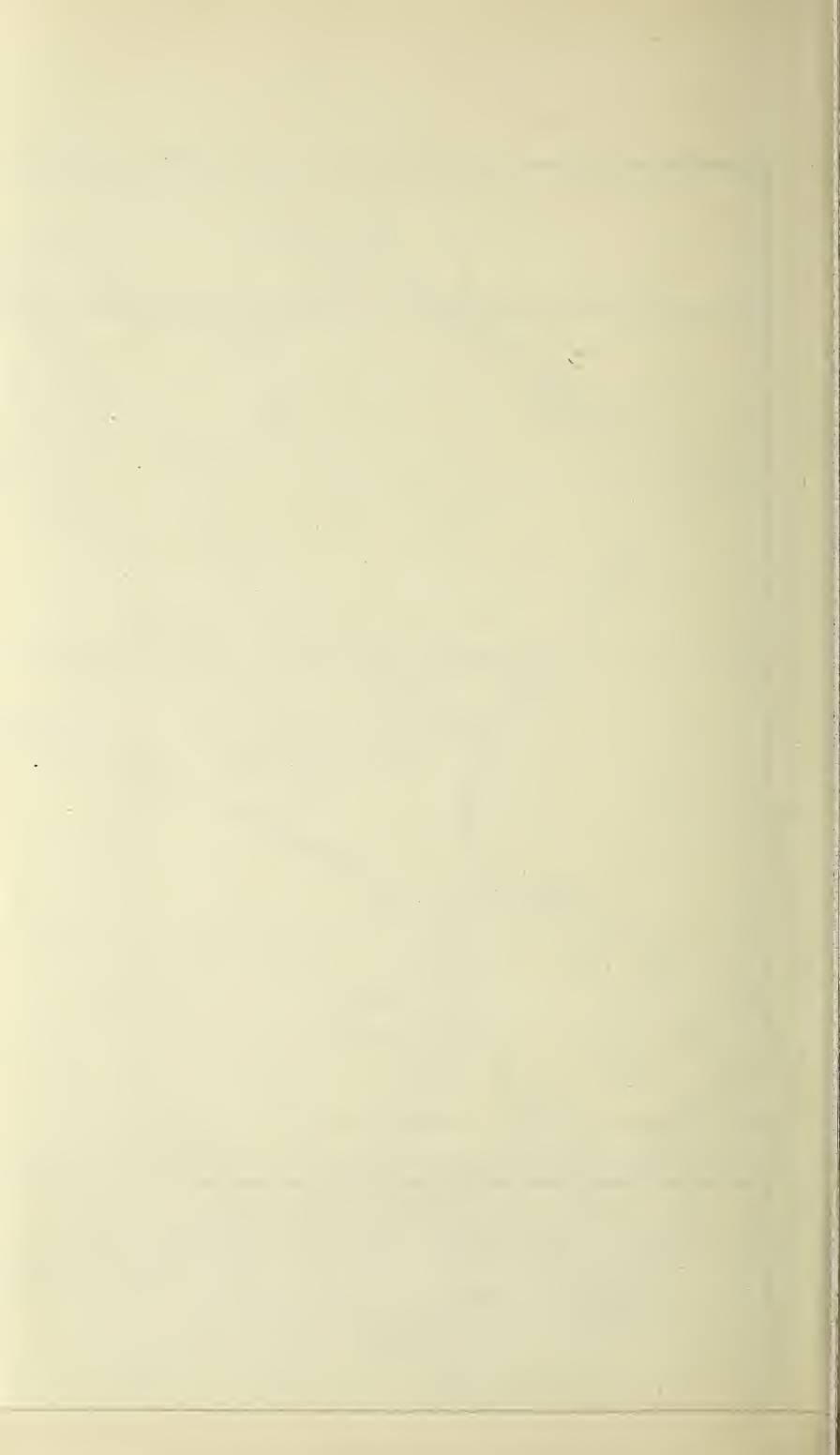
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N. B. The Register Ships from Manila have never sailed during the N. E. Monsoon from November till March, but the Fur Traders, to prolong their Season on the Coast of America, currently leave Canton at this period. The Navigation is to stand to the E. S. E. passing to Windward of New Guinea, till they meet the Westerly Winds which equally prevail in the high South as North Latitudes. With these they proceed to the Eastward, taking care however to cross the Trades to the Northward before approaching the Coast, to avoid the Calms &c. which from the extraordinary height of the Land in the South Latitudes prevail to a great distance. The Passage to the Sandwich Islands is easy at all Seasons.



I. Military Advantages. 1. The first military advantage is best illustrated by a reference to what has been already advanced; a recapitulation of the circumstances, attending the commerce and navigation between New Spain and the East Indies; and a consideration of the geographical position of the Sandwich Islands in relation to them. The intercourse between New Spain and the East Indies is confined in its passage to the westward, to the strength of the trade winds, in about 12° and 14° north latitude, and to the eastward, to that of the westerly winds which prevail in from 35° to 40° or more, also north latitude. It is to be further remarked, that the passage from China to the eastward is more peculiarly confined to the high north latitudes thus denoted; because, although westerly winds equally prevail in the high southern latitudes, yet the calms under the Line, currents and prevalence of northerly winds at all seasons, under the high land of New Spain, render it not merely inexpedient, but even utterly impracticable to establish a habitual communication in this direction. The Sandwich Islands, lying in about 20° north latitude and 155° west longitude, placed about one-third over from America towards China, and between these two tracks thus appropriated to the intercourse between them by the laws of nature, the Sandwich Islands, in this situation, equally command both passages, form the key to the whole communication, and stand to these several coasts in nearly the same relation which the British Isles themselves bear to the north of Europe; the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon to India; Malta and Gibraltar to the shores of the Mediterranean, and the Bermudas to those of the Atlantic.

The occupation of such a post must indeed be interesting to Great Britain, whose whole monopoly of the supply of Europe with East India produce, must be at the mercy of the masters of the isthmus of New Spain, unless she be possessed of the means of arresting, modifying, or engrossing also their supply. Were their intercourse with China and the East India Islands extended by their own means, or by those of a rival

power, so that Porto Bello or Vera Cruz became entrepôts of their productions, the convenience of the voyage, and the cheapness of the merchandize, would attract thither all the speculation of Europe; and the blockading of these ports, the only resource left to us if excluded from the Pacific, would only again make our belligerent rights the subject of angry and invidious discussion among the neutral powers. The intercepting this commerce in the Pacific, would not be productive of the same effect; the precarious nature of the supply would keep up the prices in the isthmus; and while, in time of peace, our own merchants and colonies would equally profit by the shorter passage, in time of war its advantages would be equally forfeited by our commercial rivals.

2. The security of our East India possessions would seem to require an outpost to the Eastward. The exaggerated importance attached by public opinion to the French expedition to Egypt, and the consequent depression of East India stock, are both within our immediate recollection; but our alarms have never, in an equal degree, been excited to the Eastward, from the supineness of the adversary whom we have there had to encounter. Yet had the Isthmus of Panama belonged to either the French or the Dutch; had the First Consul transported thither the army he sacrificed at St. Domingo, and thereby acquired the command of the immense maritime resources of its western shores, the weakness of our barrier in this direction would have long since have excited our jealousy and alarm. We can now neither calculate on the restoration of this isthmus to its former possessors, nor on their continued supineness; it is time therefore to look to our own strength only for security.

3. As I shall presently endeavour to shew, such a settlement would immediately give fresh life and vigor to our now languishing commerce in the Pacific Ocean. A new and extensive nursery would be thereby formed for our seamen; an object of peculiar import at a moment when the reduction of our fleet has dismissed many from our public service, and much dis-

couragement, and even distress, have in consequence ensued among them.

4. Besides a nursery for British seamen, a very important supply of natives would be procured for our service. The Sandwich islanders show a marked propensity to nautical pursuits, and instead of reaping only disease and desolation from their intercourse with Europeans, have made a leap towards power and consequence in these seas altogether incredible. In 1794, Captain Vancouver laid down for Tamaah-maah, their chief, the keel, thirty-six feet long, of his first vessel: in 1803, Mr. Turnbull found the same prince in possession of twenty vessels of from 25 to 70 tons burthen; and in 1810 Campbell describes him surrounded with native artizans of almost every description, and numbering a navy of fifty sail, of which one was a ship of 200 tons burthen. The acquisition of the resources, moral and physical, by which such a miracle had been accomplished, is indeed an object of secondary, but yet considerable importance.

Lastly. The possession of a settlement in the Pacific Ocean becomes daily more interesting, both in a military and commercial point of view, from the progress of the Russian settlements on the south-east coast of Tartary, and northwest of America. Dependent as we are in a great measure on Russia for our naval supplies, it becomes most interesting to us to know by what arms she may be assailed to advantage, or by what means the effects of her hostility may be eluded, should the friendship and confidence now subsisting between the two powers ever suffer diminution. In this latter point of view, the more particular survey and application of the maritime resources of New Albion, of which Captain Vancouver speaks in very high terms, become objects of considerable relative importance; and it is worthy, too, of record, that the Russians have already directed their attention to the Sandwich Islands. In 1809, when Campbell was in Alexandria, in the island of Kodiak, encouragements were held out to adventurers willing

to form a settlement in them ; and though the plan proved then abortive, probably from deficiency of population to sustain an emigration, it yet holds out too many allurements to be altogether laid aside. A timely interposition now, in favor of our unquestionable rights, may save some future angry discussion ; and as the Russians only look to the Sandwich Islands for supplies of provisions, the acquisition of that branch of commerce might prove a new bond of union between the two empires.

II. Commercial Advantages. To explain the full extent of these, it will be necessary to consider the prevailing obstacles which have hitherto paralyzed our commercial exertions in the Pacific Ocean. These arise principally from the isolated object, and limited range of resources, with which, on account of the extreme distance, and utter want of a colonial port, merchants have been obliged to prosecute their speculations. The fur trader is unable to combine any secondary object with his principal pursuit ; his time on the coast is equally limited by the season, and by his inability anywhere to recruit his supplies. He is dependent on Canton for a market, on the East India Company for a homeward bound cargo, and should he lose any men by sickness or desertion, he is utterly unable to replace them. The whaler in like manner, makes the tour of the globe to catch nine or ten fish, happy if the result of his voyage, administered in all its details with the most scrupulous economy, reward his enterprise by even a moderate profit. So uncertain is he of this result, that he pays his seamen, not by fixed wages, but by shares in the net proceeds, a method not less dictated by the uncertainty of his returns, than by his desire to ensure their continuance in his service, and to interest them in the success of their perilous employment. He is nearly equally limited with the fur trader in his range of speculation, and equally destitute of the means of supply in cases of accident or distress.

Under such circumstances it is not extraordinary that the British share of the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, should be

small ; that the fishing of the spermaceti whale should be alone pursued, that of the black whale being utterly unable to defray its expenses ; and that of the fur traders who enter the port of Canton, four-fifths should be Americans, who are encouraged to this perseverance, partly by greater economy in the details of their voyages, partly by their higher appreciation of minute profits, but more than all, by their habitual application of the resources afforded by the Sandwich Islands. In 1793, Captain Vancouver found three American seamen left by their employer at Woahoo, on permanent wages of eight dollars a month, to collect for him a cargo of sandal wood, and the necessary refreshments on his return. In 1803, Mr. Turnbull found several of them established about the person of Tamaah-maah, and holding positions of trust under his government ; and in 1810. Campbell counted at one time sixty white persons at Waohoo, now become the residence of that prince. It is true, they still respected the British flag displayed by him ever since his acknowledgment of the supreme sovereignty of Great Britain ; and equally true, that the greater number of these men were English deserters, and refugee convicts from New South Wales. But it cannot be doubted, that among a rude people personal affection, cemented by the interchange of commercial benefits, will far outweigh any abstract attachment to a flag ; and we are not now to learn, that renegade Englishmen, of whatever description, become in principle and views, Americans of the worst and most hostile description. The proof and extent of the danger are contained in the comparative statement of the intercourse maintained. In 1810, of twelve ships which touched at these islands, two were English, one Russian and nine Americans.

The following are some of the principal commercial advantages which would seem attached to the establishment of a British settlement at the same place. They are calculated principally on the supposition of the Isthmus of Panama remaining shut to commercial enterprize ; the supposition on which the acquisition of some of the military advantages above detailed would seem least conspicuously desirable.

1. The whale fishing would be prosecuted in vessels belonging to this new colony. The fishermen would also belong to it; and these bold, adventurous seamen would be constantly employed in those functions, of which their skill and intrepidity secure to them the monopoly, instead of passing, as they do now, the greater part of their time in a laborious passage to and from the scene of employment. They would boil their oil and purify their spermaceti on the spot, and reduce them to their most portable state before embarking them in the vessels destined to convey them to Europe.

2. Vessels destined for cargoes of oil and spermaceti would proceed to a known port for their lading. They would carry out with them the goods destined for the prosecution of the fur and other traffics, which would be either the venture of their owners, or consignments for the colony. In either case, the profits on their sales or freight would form an important item in the credit-account of the voyage, would reduce the scale of its relative expenses, and would enable the black whale fishery to become again a lucrative object of mercantile speculation.

3. The expense of carrying these goods to the place of barter would be proportionally diminished, when their transport became no longer the sole object of the voyage. Higher priced goods might consequently be sent, and a demand created for the more expensive and profitable productions of the British manufacturer's industry. At present, the whole gross profits of the trade, exceeding in many cases 2000 per cent., are absorbed in the merchant's bill of expenses; he is unable to export more than the coarsest articles, which sustain a severe and even successful competition from the imperfect Russian and American manufactures.

4. The fur trade, conducted under the immediate inspection of those most interested in its success, would discover new

channels of communication, both with the places where furs are procured, and where they are disposed of.*

The establishment of furriers and manufacturers on the spot would enhance the value of furs in the Chinese market, and probably increase their demand.

5. A considerable portion of the price paid by the East India Company at Canton for their investments, is in specie. This specie is presented in the Chinese market under every possible disadvantage. It is purchased in the English bullion market, subjected to the multiplied expenses of two or three times landing and re-shipping, and it is then transported to Canton by a voyage exceeding 20,000 miles in distance, and demanding from 4 to 6 months in its prosecution. Under such circumstances, it is not to be doubted, that it costs the company at least double its nominal value at Canton. A portion of this disadvantageous exportation would be obviated by this new colony. The colonists would obtain a very large credit in China from their importations of furs, naval stores, &c., beyond what they would require to vest in commodities, and

* One of these is too important to pass unnoticed. By the treaty of Nerschinsk, by which the trade between Russia and China was regulated, two depots were named, Kiachta and Zuruchaitu, where alone the respective merchants were to meet. The Russian exports consist of furs and manufactures; of the furs, many are brought from the Fox, Aleutian, and other islands and settlements in the Pacific, which being landed at Ochotsk, are thence transported to Kiachta, the nearest depot, by a land carriage exceeding 2,000 miles. The manufactures are partly British, partly French, Russian, and Prussian, and in like manner arrive at Kiachta, where they are still distant 51 days journey from Peking, by a land carriage from Petersburg of 6,508 versts, exceeding 4,000 miles. No consumption of them ensues by the way; saddled with the expense of such a journey, their acquisition is equally beyond the means of Tartar horde, or Siberian exile.

The commercial advantages which would accrue to us by being able to present the same manufactures at Ochotsk on reasonable terms, hardly require illustration. A considerable consumption of them would take place on the spot; the competition of the foreign manufactures, which would have a land journey of double the distance, would be superseded, and we should reap the profits on the subsequent sales of the furs we should receive in exchange. The active navigation of the gulph of Corea might lead to further commercial intercourse with Japan of the most important nature; in short, it is impossible to set limits to the prospect which such a change might open.

would very gladly complete the circle of their communications with the mother country, by accepting the company's bills on terms mutually advantageous. The progressive growth of this resource, interesting even in its infancy, would become peculiarly so, when the increased intercourse with the Spanish colonies in America should open that rich and inexhaustible market for East India manufactures and productions, with which accordingly, instead of bills, the company would soon purchase this accommodation. Without an intermediate establishment, our East India possessions, situate so far to the westward, would have no chance of obtaining this vent for their productions; the supply of the Spanish colonies would either again revert to the Philippines, or pass to the Dutch islands: by means of it, our activity, capital, and superior maritime resources, would secure to us its almost exclusive possession.

6. The necessity under which all vessels bound for the Pacific now labor, of equipping in England for two or three years, is one of the greatest hardships imposed on them, and would be, by means of this settlement, obviated. In voyages of such duration, more stores are expended by rot than by service, and of those which remain to be brought into use, half the efficiency is perhaps cancelled by want of some corresponding article of equipment. The obviating this embarrassment is not less a military than a commercial object; and in the event of a future war with either of the Americas, with Spain, with Russia, with China, in a word, with any conflicting interest in that hemisphere, may prove of an importance it may be impossible too highly to appreciate, and proportional only to the stake for which we may be called on to contend.

It would be very easy to extend this enumeration to an indefinite length; to include in it the extension of hydrographical science, the communication of the instruments of luxury and convenience to the rude nations of the Pacific, the consequent increased demand for our manufactures, with many other objects of equal importance to this country. But if I am correct in what I have already advanced, my argument

would acquire no additional strength from such a trespass on the attention with which I hope to be honoured. I will only solicit permission to make one more remark. These commercial advantages are only calculated on the improvement of already well-known objects of mercantile speculation; but it is beyond a doubt, that the establishment of a vigorous and enterprising colony on the spot would soon create or elicit many more. The demand which the liberal supply of the Spanish colonies would occasion on our East India possessions for their manufactures and productions; which the existence of this colony would create on New South Wales for its surplus agricultural produce, on New Albion for naval stores, on South America for the precious metals; the facilities it would afford for a contraband trade with these coasts, while they continue subject to the exclusive restrictions of the mother country; for its free prosecution on their repeal;—these form a very imperfect enumeration of the various sources of lucrative traffic, which an attentive examination of the statistics of these regions would suggest, and to the pursuit of which such a settlement would give immediate vigor and activity. Nor can its distance be a reasonable ground of objection. Should a passage ever be granted to commercial enterprise over the isthmus of New Spain, the facilities of communication would be infinitely superior to what we enjoy with any of our East India possessions; and even should that remain forever shut, the passage round Cape Horn, divested as it now is of its imaginary terrors, if provided with a good colonial port at its conclusion, would become the mere object of every-day undertaking.

To conclude, I believe I may not with propriety enlarge on the many circumstances in the present state of politics in the world, not merely favorable to the execution of such a measure as this of which I have thus considered the advantages, but also incentive to its undertaking. I may be allowed, however, to make the three following remarks:

First. Spain, uncertain of ever recovering her colonies, can now neither feel nor testify the same jealousy of such a settlement as she expressed on occasion of those at Nootka and the Falkland Islands. **Secondly.** The dispersion and animosity of the French exiles, render the importation of politics hostile to the interests of Great Britain into New Spain now more than ever probable, particularly when connected with their favorable reception in the United States. And **lastly**, the chain is at present broken between New Spain and the Philippine Islands, while, by our recent treaties, those islands in the Chinese Seas are restored to our old and active commercial rivals, the Dutch, which, from proximity of geographical position, will more naturally fill up the chasm than our East India possessions, unless supported and assisted by some strong measure on the part of Government. That measure can only be the interposition of an intermediate settlement.

In the memoir to Government, of which I have thus detailed the substance, it would not have become me to propose limits to the scale on which such a plan should be undertaken; and I indeed professed my inability to speak with precision on the point. I presumed, however, to state, that I **believed** I could undertake to answer some of the civil and most of the military demands, of the **peaceful infancy** of such a settlement, from the resources of one of our large troop-ships, aided either by one or two small men of war, or furnished with such additional number of officers and men as might enable me to equip two or three tenders for the conveyance of orders and maintenance of authority among the islands. I begged permission to represent, that very few of the difficulties would intervene here, which made the infancy of the settlement at Port Jackson so burdensome and expensive. This would be a commercial, not an agricultural colony. The inhabitants are already friendly, provisions already abundant, nor would the increase of the permanent population be so rapid as to preclude the necessary preparations. I beg leave here to repeat the sanguine belief which I there state, that from the first hour of our settlement

we should depend on the mother country only for her manufactures and her protection.

These opinions and speculations may be erroneous, and I now submit them with the diffidence of one unaccustomed to hazard the communication of his sentiments on public service. I hazard them, however, actuated by a most sincere interest in the greatness and welfare of my native country; by an intimate conviction of the importance of the revolution now under contest in New Spain, and by the belief, that however that may now terminate, Spain can only long retain her influence in that country, by the improvement and encouragement of its many natural and commercial advantages, not by their oppression. With these concurrent motives, I will not deny, there is also mixed up a very ardent desire of recommending my own personal services to those who alike dispense the toils and the rewards of individual ambition; a very anxious wish to be employed in the execution of this, or of any other plan which His Majesty's Ministers in their wisdom may adopt, for the maintenance and promotion of British interests in these seas.

ALEX. M'KONOECHIE.

Publications of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

CATALOGUE OF BOUND BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1897.

Annual Reports.

The first annual meeting of the Society was held December 5, 1892, and was for the then current year. The report was printed some time in the early part of 1893 and dated in that year.

The reports for the years 1893 and 1894 appear to have been printed together in one pamphlet, dated in 1895 and called the Third Annual Report.

The result of the above is that the numbering of the reports from 1894 on are all erroneous; the fourth should be fifth, the fifth should be the sixth, and so on.

The reports for 1895 and 1896 are both called "Fourth" Annual Reports. This is probably an awkward attempt to correct the irregularity mentioned above.

Papers Read.

"The Relations Between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America in Early Times," by W. D. Alexander. Paper 1.

"The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," by Jos. S. Emerson. Paper 2.

"Traces of Spanish Influence in the Hawaiian Islands," by Curtis J. Lyons. Paper 2.

"Evolution of Hawaiian Land Tenures," by Hon. Sanford B. Dole. Paper 3.

"Early Voyagers of the Pacific Ocean," by Alatau T. Atkinson. Paper 4.

"The Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians," by Dr. N. B. Emerson. Paper 5.

"The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai," 1814-1816, by W. D. Alexander. Paper 6.

"Recollections of Kamehameha V," by R. A. Lyman. Third Annual Report.

"Brief Sketch of Kamehameha V," by W. D. Alexander. Third Annual Report.

"The Evolution of the Hawaiian Judiciary," by Hon. W. F. Frear. Paper 7.

"Voyage of the Bordeaux Packet, Boston to Honolulu, 1817," by James Hunnewell. Paper 8.

"Tahiti," by Miss Teuira Henry. Fourth Annual Report (1895).

"Historical Notes," by E. Bailey. Fourth Annual Report (1895).

"The Legend of the Shark Man, Manaue," by Mrs. Emma M. Nakuina. Fourth Annual Report (1896).

"On an Autograph Letter," by Jean B. Rives. Submitted by W. D. Alexander. Fourth Annual Report (1896).

"The Last Hours of Liholiho and Kamamalu." Copy of a letter sent to H. R. H. Princess Liliuokalani, presented to the Hawaiian Historical Society by the author, Theo. H. Davies, Esq. Fourth Annual Report (1896).

"Incidents of the Voyage of the 'Heros'." Submitted by W. D. Alexander. Fourth Annual Report (1896).

"Synopsis of a Lecture on the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesians," etc., by S. Percy Smith. Fifth Annual Report.

"Tahitian Folklore Compared with the Samoan and Hawaiian," by Miss Teuira Henry. Fifth Annual Report.

"Capt. Hypolite Bouchard and His Treaty with Kamehameha I," by Hon. Paul Neuman. Fifth Annual Report.

"An Account of the Uncompleted Treaty of Annexation Between the United States of America and the Hawaiian Kingdom, Negotiated in 1854, with Protocols and Correspondence," by W. D. Alexander. Paper 9.

"Honolulu in 1853," by Warren Goodale. Paper 10.

"Supplemental Article," by Thomas G. Thrum. Paper 10.

"The Maker of the Hawaiian Flag," by W. D. Alexander. Sixth Annual Report.

"Correspondence Relating to the Last Hours of Kamehameha V." Sixth Annual Report.

"Regarding Ho-ao, Hawaiian Marriage," by Dr. N. B. Emerson. Sixth Annual Report.

"Part of a Paper on the Partition of Samoa and the Past Relations Between that Group and the United States," by Hon. H. M. Sewall. Seventh Annual Report.

"The Honolulu Fort," by Dr. N. B. Emerson. Eighth Annual Report.

"Hawaiian Beliefs Regarding Spirits," by J. S. Emerson. Ninth Annual Report.

"Report on a Find of Human Bones Exhumed at Waikiki," by Dr. N. B. Emerson. Ninth Annual Report.

"Some Hawaiians Abroad," by Ed. Towse. Paper 11.

"Early Trading in Hawaii," by W. D. Alexander. Paper 11.

"Suppressed Chapter of Hawaiian History," by Mrs. Laura F. Judd. Tenth Annual Report.

"Mamala-hoa. Events Immediately Succeeding the Death of Kaianiohuanu," etc., by Dr. N. B. Emerson. Tenth Annual Report.

"The Poetry of Hawaii," by Dr. N. B. Emerson. Eleventh Annual Report.

"Certain Coincidences Between the Hawaiian and the Philippine Languages," by Henry S. Townsend. Eleventh Annual Report.

"Voyage of the Schooner 'Tetautua'," by Ed. Towse. Twelfth Annual Report.

"The Reversal of the Hawaiian Flag," by Howard M. Ballo. Paper 12.

"Economic and Political Changes in British Polynesia," by W. D. Alexander. Paper 12.

"A Kona Storm," by Hon. Gorham D. Gilman. Paper 12.

"Hawaiian Statute Law," by Hon. Walter F. Frear. Thirteenth Annual Report.

"The Archives of Hawaii," by Robert C. Lydecker. Paper 13.

"The Story of Cleopatra's Barge," by W. D. Alexander. Paper 13.

"The Career of a Chilean Pirate and its Capture in 1822," by W. D. Alexander. Paper 13.

"Story of Kahahana," by Abraham Fornander (unfinished). Fourteenth Annual Report.

"Life of Hon. Abraham Fornander." From P. C. Advertiser. Fourteenth Annual Report.

"Life of Anders Fornander." Translated from the Swedish by L. M. Vetlesen. Fourteenth Annual Report.

"Extract from the Journal of the British Commission, 1843." Fourteenth Annual Report.

"Funeral Rites of Keliiahonui," by W. D. Alexander. Fourteenth Annual Report.

"Memorial of Capt. Alex. M'Konochie, R. N., on Establishing a Colony in the Sandwich Islands" (with map). Fourteenth Annual Report.

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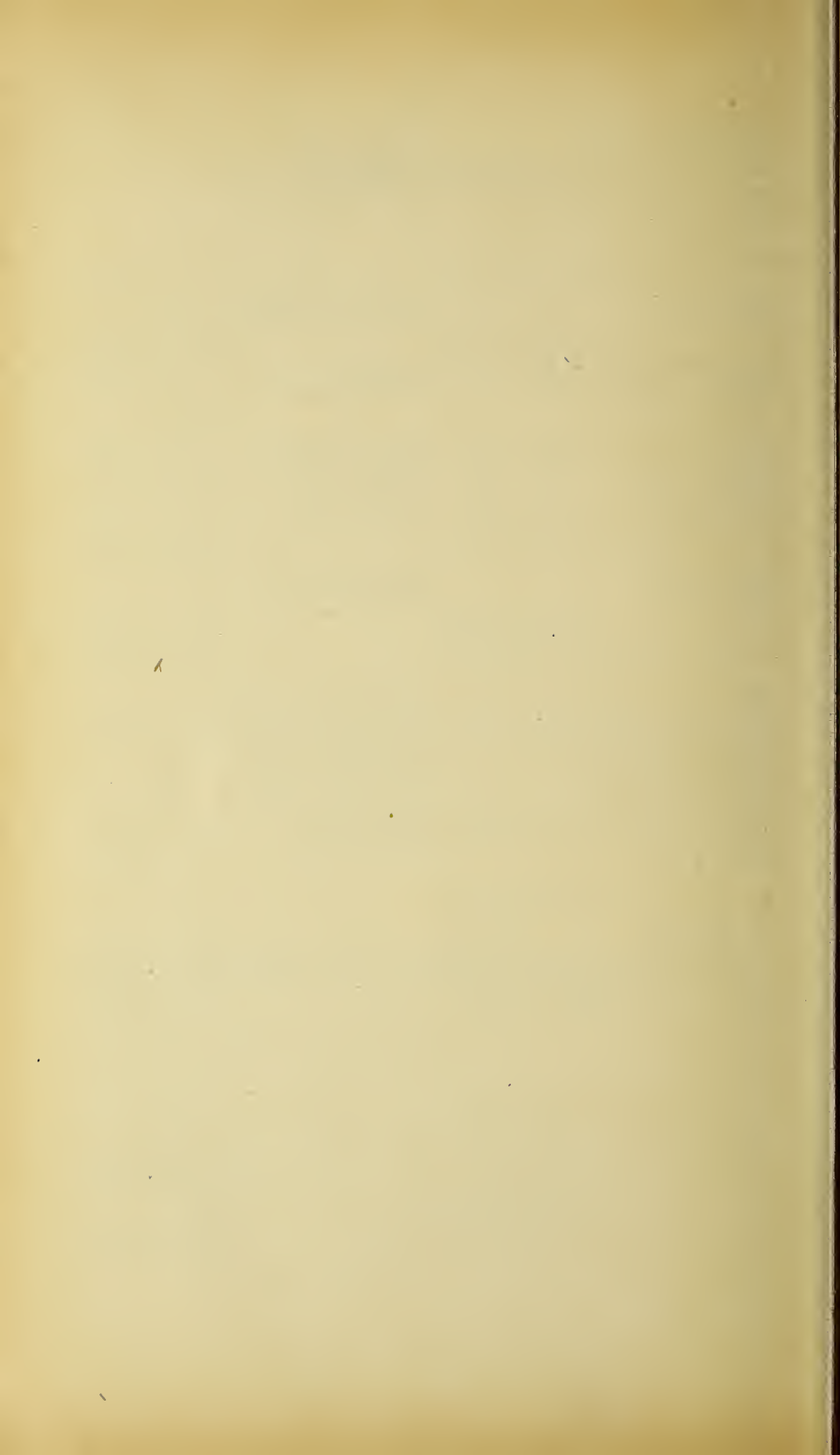
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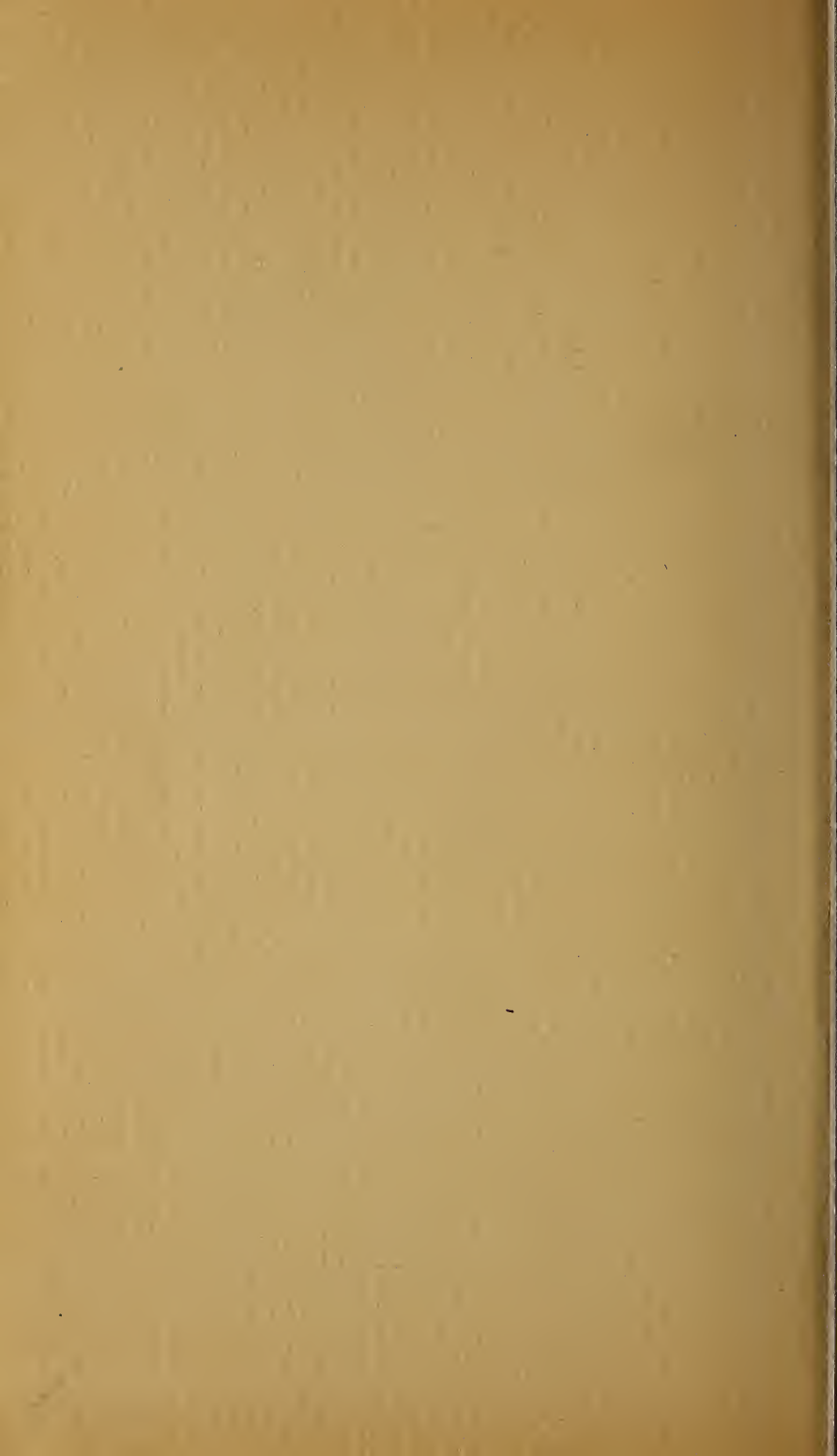
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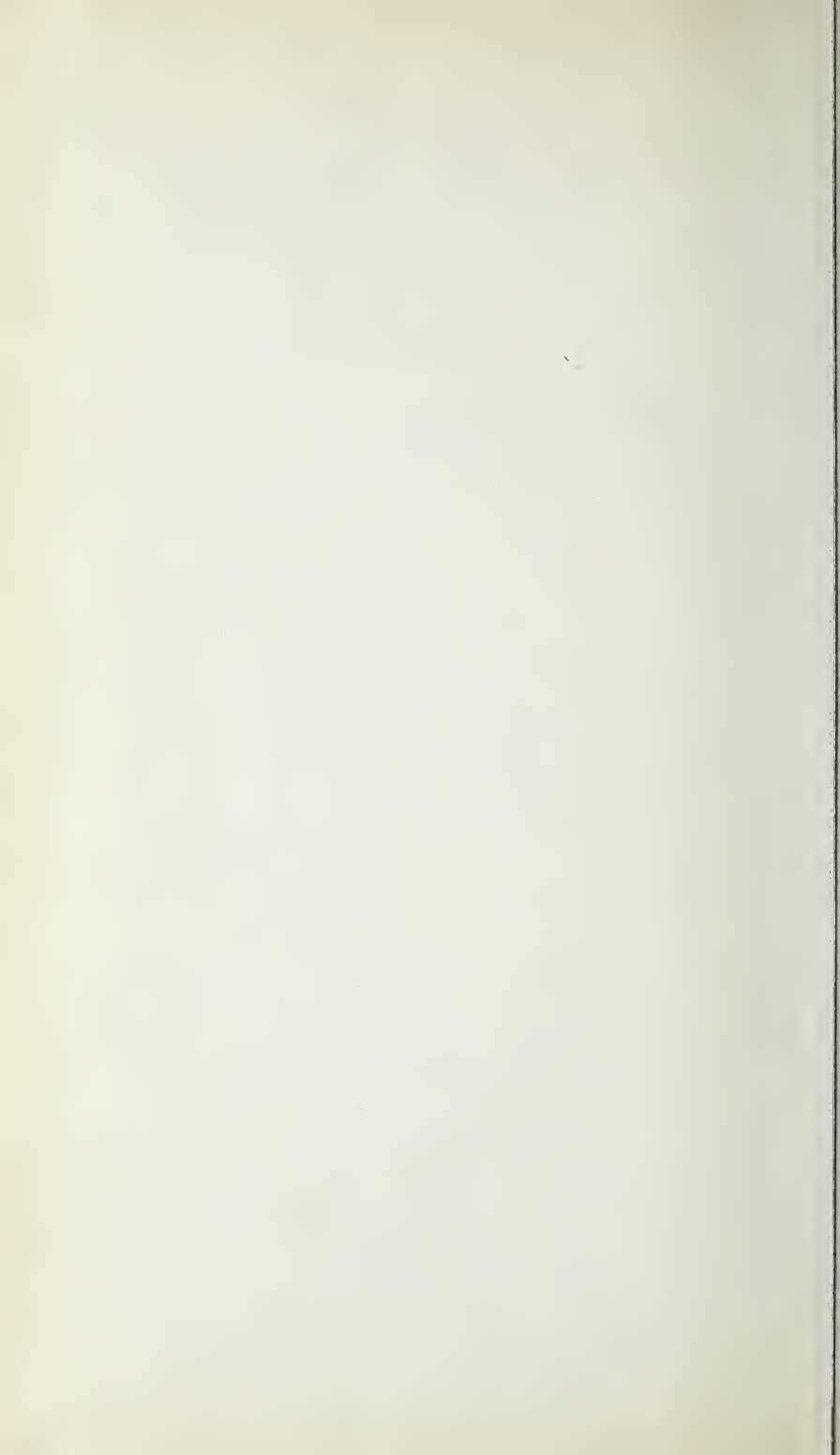
*Deceased.

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